THE LIFE AND TIMES OF PHILIP SCHYLER.

BENSON J. LOSSING





CATHERINE V.R. SCHUYLER.

THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

BY

BENSON J. LOSSING.

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LIFE AND TIMES

OF

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

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When Montgomery was slain, and Arnold was disabled, the command of the American troops at Quebec devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Campbell, the senior officer on duty. He immediately sent Edward Antill, one of Montgomery's engineers, to General Wooster at Montreal, with an account of the great disaster, and an urgent request for him to come down immediately and take the chief command. Arnold wrote to Wooster, by the same hand, requesting him to send the news by express to Washington and to Congress, for it was supposed that General Schuyler, the Department Commander, was then in Philadelphia. It was a mistake. He was at his home, in Albany, grievously suffering from gout and asthma, and was also watching the armed Tories in Tryon County. Of this Wooster was informed, and he sent Antill to Schuyler with copies of the letters from Quebec, and one from himself, in which he gave, in few words, a vivid picture of the critical state of affairs in Canada. He said:

"We have but four tons of powder in the country. We have lost one artillery company; it will therefore be necessary to supply us with another very soon, or we may possibly not only lose the footing we

have got here, but perhaps be all sacrificed in the country. There is little confidence to be placed in the Canadians. They are but a small remove from the savages, and are fond of being of the strongest party. * * * * * We are in the greatest need of cash—hard money. We shall soon be in the greatest distress for the want of it, and doubtless the more so since the check to our arms. Mr. Price has hitherto supplied us. Indeed I do not know how we could have subsisted as an army without him. He has already advanced for us about twenty thousand pounds, and has assisted us in every way possible. General Montgomery, in his last letter to me, begged that Price might be mentioned in the strongest terms to Congress.

"Our enemies in the country are numerous. The clergy almost universally refuse absolution to those who are our friends, and preach to the people that it is not now too late to take arms against us; that the Bostonians are but a handful of men, which is true. Something must be done, and that speedily, or I greatly fear we are ruined. We have but five or six hundred men for the garrisons of this place, Chambly, and St. John's. Many of the troops insist upon going home, their time of enlistment being out. Some, indeed, have run away without a pass or dismission, expressly against orders. * * * * I have given orders to suffer no man to go out of the country, whether he will enlist or not. The necessity of the case, I believe, will justify my conduct. I shall not be able to spare any men to reinforce Colonel Arnold. This place must be secured for a retreat, if necessary. I called a council of officers, who agreed, to a man, that I ought to remain here."*

Schuyler approved Wooster's action. "You may rest assured," he said, "that a conduct so prudent will meet with the fullest approbation. "By all means," he continued, "secure a retreat for Arnold, and should Carleton follow him there, as you may certainly expect succors, I do not doubt but you will suffer every hardship before you will give up the town. Our cause, sir, is just, and I trust that Divine Providence will dispel this untoward cloud, and that we shall again receive its smiles." †

Before the distressing intelligence came from Quebec, Schuyler had urged Congress to send reinforcements into Canada, and had ordered Colonel Warner to gather recruits

* Autograph Letter, January 5, 1776.

† Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

as quickly as possible for the same destination. Now he put forth every effort to increase the little army in Canada, or to at least save it from destruction. He again urged Congress to forward troops with all possible dispatch. He also suggested the propriety of their sending a committee to his Department delegated to act with full power, for the seeming indifference of Congress to the wants of the northern army threatened that army with fatal results. That indifference was keenly felt by the people of the province of New York. "I cannot but be surprised," Robert R. Livingston had written to Schuyler from Clermont, his seat on the Hudson, "at the neglect the Congress manifest in the matter, which I am convinced they think of the last importance; but they have never yet known the difficulties you have had to contend with in the state of the army in Canada. My letters from Philadelphia informs me that all their time and attention have been employed on the affairs of Virginia, who has condescended (after all her gruffing) to ask aid against a pitiful handful of negroes and ragamuffins.* The troops raised in New Jersey, and part of the Pennsylvania battalion, are sent there, so that we are left to the care of Providence, or to depend upon the forbearance of our enemies." †

The Congress appear to have forgotten, or, in the face of corroborative action on the part of the enemy, seemed to regard it as a fable, the significant warning concerning the capital plan of the British ministry for crushing the rebellion, which they devised immediately after the failure of their arms at Bunker Hill, and which had been conveyed in a

* This was in allusion to the operations of Lord Dunmore, who, with a motley force of Tories and refugee negro slaves, made war upon the Virginians over whom he had borne rule as royal governor.

† Autograph Letter, January 12, 1776.

letter from London several months before.* Said the writer:

"Their design is to get possession of New York and Albany; to fill both of these cities with very strong garrisons; to declare all rebels, who do not join the King's forces; to command the Hudson and East Rivers with a number of small men-of-war and cutters stationed in different parts of it, so as to cut off all communication by water between New York and the provinces northward of it, and between New York and Albany, except for the King's service, and to prevent, also, all communication between the city of New York, the provinces of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and those to the southward of them. By these means the administration and their friends fancy that they shall soon either starve out or retake the garrisons of Crown Point and Ticondarogo, and open and maintain a safe intercourse and correspondence between Quebec, Albany, and New York, and thereby afford the fairest opportunity to their soldiery and Canadians, in conjunction with the Indians to be procured by G. J. [Guy Johnson†] to make continual irruptions into New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut, and so distract and divide the provincial forces as to render it easy for the British army, at Boston, to defeat them, break the spirits of the Massachusetts people, depopulate their country, and compel an absolute subjection to Great Britain."

The proceedings of Parliament, the letters of friends to the cause, from England, and the evident intention of the British commanders in America to execute this plan, if possible, proclaimed that this was to be the grand scheme for the subjugation of the insurgents; and yet Congress, with amazing apathy, even when it was known that Burgoyne was at Quebec with ten thousand men, and Howe was probably on the ocean with an equal or greater number, destined for New York, allowed the possession of Canada and the defence of the northern frontiers, along which hung a dusky cloud of hostile savages, to be a consideration second to the defence of certain points in other colonies, demanded by representatives of those colonies.

While the critical condition of the little army in

* July 31, 1775. See Journal of the Provincial Congress of New York, page 172.

† See chapter xx. volume i.

Canada demanded Schuyler's immediate and earnest attention, the hostile movements of Sir John Johnson and his retainers in Tryon County, demanded as immediate and earnest attention. The Committee of Safety for that county had informed him that at least seven hundred Tories, most of them Scotch Highlanders, were under arms, and that Johnson Hall was fortified. They implored his assistance. He called for the gathering of seven hundred militia at Albany, to go forward and join the armed Whigs in Tryon County. The response was gratifying, and attested in a most remarkable manner the popularity of Schuyler and the confidence of the people in his military skill as a leader. In a letter to the Continental Congress, he said: "Such was the zeal and alacrity of the people that, although the weather was cold in the extreme, it was impossible to prevent their coming up, which they did, in such numbers that by the time I reached Caughnawaga, I had very near, if not quite, three thousand men, including nine hundred of the Tryon County militia."*

On the 16th of January (four days after receiving the sad news from Canada) Schuyler left Albany at the head of his hastily gathered little army, and arrived at Schenectady, the first settlement in the Mohawk valley, west of Albany, that evening. There he met a deputation of Mohawk Indians, assured them that he had no hostile designs against them in penetrating their country, explained to them the necessity for his movement, and received assurances from them that they would appear at Johnstown, his destination, as mediators only. At the same time he sent forward a letter to Sir John Johnson in which he

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

gave reasons for his movement under orders from the civil authority,* and expressed a desire to comply with their orders "in a manner the most peaceable, that no blood may be shed." To effect that object, he requested Sir John to meet him on the 18th. The baronet complied, and a friendly interview was had at Guy Park, the residence of Guy Johnson, near the present village of Amsterdam, in the Mohawk valley. Johnson was accompanied by several of the leading Scotchmen, and when Schuyler demanded, as terms of peace, the immediate cessation of all hostile demonstrations, the surrender of all arms, ammunition and stores in the possession of Johnson, the delivery to him of all the arms and military accoutrements held by the Tories and Indians, and Sir John's parole of honor not to act inimically to the patriot cause, the baronet assured Schuyler that the Indians would support him, that many were already at Johnson Hall, and that others were on their way down for the purpose. To these words of implied defiance Schuyler answered that although averse to shedding blood, yet if resistance should be made force would be opposed by force, and that the consequences would be of the most serious nature. Johnson asked for a postponement of his reply until the next evening. The favor was granted; and after Sir John had left, Little Abraham, a leading Mohawk chief, called upon Schuyler, and not only denied the truth of the assertion that the Indians were ready to support the baronet, but repeated the assurance given at Schenectady that they would act as mediators only.

Schuyler moved forward, and on the following day, when at Caughnawaga, within four miles of Johnstown, where

* See Resolution of Congress cited on page 472 of the first volume of this work.

the Tryon County militia had assembled, he was met by Sir John's answer, in which easier terms were proposed. This was followed by a deputation of sachems and war riors who came as professed mediators. They said the baronet had declared that he had fortified Johnson Hall only to guard himself against insult by riotous people; that he had no unfriendly intentions against the country, and begged the general to accept his terms. Schuyler replied, "I have given Sir John until 12 o'clock to-day to consider *my* terms, after which, if he shall not comply, I shall take such measures as will make him, and whoever assists him, feel the power in my hands." The Mohawks then begged, as a special favor to themselves, that if the baronet did not yield, Schuyler would extend the time of grace until four o'clock the next morning, that they might go to Sir John, and "shake his head," as they expressed it, so as to bring him to his senses; also that the baronet should not be driven out of the country. Schuyler extended the time of grace, but Sir John, alarmed, yielded at the appointed time, and on the following day (January 19, 1776) the expedition moved to Johnstown, where the arms and military stores in possession of Johnson, were delivered up. The amount was much smaller than Schuyler expected to find, but seemed to be all that had been collected.

At noon the next day, Schuyler's men were drawn up in a line in the streets at Johnstown, when nearly three hundred of the Scotch Highlanders advanced to the front and laid down their arms. Sir John gave his parole of honor not to take up arms against the colonists, and not to go westward among the Indians beyond the German Flatts and Kingsland district. With these pledges of peace, six chiefs of the Macdonald clan of Highlanders and

more than one hundred Tories as prisoners, and a six and four pound cannon and a number of swivels as trophies, Schuyler returned to Albany on the evening of the 21st of January, where he was received with demonstrations of public joy. He had disarmed between six and seven hundred Tories, conciliated the Mohawks, diluted the loyalty of some of the most prominent of the leaders among the other Six Nations, and received a promise that six more hostages from among the old English, Dutch and German settlers should be sent to him.* But the work had to be done over again, in May, as we shall hereafter observe, for Sir John Johnson violated his parole as he doubtless intended to do when he gave it, and portions of Tryon County were again swarming with open enemies of the patriot cause.

The admirable performance of the delicate and important task of suppressing the Tory rising in Tryon County, committed to General Schuyler, commanded the admiration of the whole country. "I hope," Washington wrote to him, "General Lee will execute a work of the same kind on Long Island. It is high time to begin with our internal foes, when we are threatened with such severity of chastisement from our kind parent without." On the 5th of February the Continental Congress resolved:

"That General Schuyler has proceeded in disarming such inhabitants of the County of Tryon, in the colony of New York, as were disaffected, and providing for the future tranquillity of those parts, with fidelity, prudence, and dispatch, and at the same time with a proper temper towards that deluded people, and thereby performed a meritorious service:

"That the cheerfulness and ready assistance of those who accompanied General Schuyler in his march to the County of Tryon and their useful services in that expedition, discovered such a patriotic

* MS. Narrative of the Expedition, dated at Albany, January 23 1776, sent to the Continental Congress by General Schuyler.

spirit, that it is hoped none of them will allow their countrymen to entertain a suspicion that any ignoble motive actuated them, by refusing a pecuniary reward, especially when they were employed in suppressing a mischief in their own neighborhood."

The latter expression was elicited by a statement of General Schuyler that some of the men of the expedition had claimed pay for their services, and which he thought improper under the circumstances.*

Heavy burdens of care and responsibility were now laid upon General Schuyler by Congress, because, as they said, they had "great confidence in his attention to the public interest." On the 8th of January they had directed him to have the river St. Lawrence well explored above and below Quebec, and "to determine upon proper places for opposing, by armed boats or otherwise, any attempts of the enemy to penetrate that country by the river,"† and he was empowered to have as many of such boats speedily prepared as he might think proper. They also gave orders for shipwrights to be sent to Schuyler, to be employed by him in constructing batteaux on Lake Champlain, not exceeding one hundred in number. On the following day they invested him with new powers, giving him the discretion, in a great degree, of a military dictator in his department. On the 17th a committee, at New York, composed of Francis Lewis and John Alsop, sent to him two master ship-builders for supplies for the construction of two naval vessels at Poughkeepsie, which Congress had ordered; and on the 25th he was directed to have the

* "Some of the troops," General Schuyler wrote, "refused to move, unless I promised pay for their carriages, and these same people insist upon pay as Minute-men. Many of the people, however, expect no pay for their carriages nor for themselves. Expeditions of this kind would be very expensive at this rate. I cannot think that Congress intended pay for the men on such occasions."—Schuyler's MS Letter Books.

† Journal of Congress, ii. 15.

fortress at Ticonderoga repaired and made defensible. At the same time he was compelled to perform most of the duties of the Indian Commissioners at Albany, of which body he was president. "Necessity," he said, in a letter to Congress, "drives me too often to act alone. Mr. Douw is removed out of town, and the other gentlemen reside at a considerable distance, so that I must not only do the business, but have the burthen of all the Indians that come, and they are troublesome visitors to a man that has something to do."

In addition to these military duties, those pertaining to the political affairs of his district were laid upon General Schuyler in a large degree. The royal governor of the Province dissolved the Colonial Assembly at the close of 1775, and in the most cautious manner he issued writs for the election of new members to meet in New York at the middle of February. Before the publication of such dissolution, the Committee of Safety, of New York, apprised General Schuyler of the fact, and begged him to exercise his influence in bringing together the leading Whigs of the city and county of Albany, that they might choose suitable candidates. The 22d of January was the appointed day for the election, which was a most important one, because it would determine the relative political strength of the Whigs and Tories in the province, and Schuyler entered into the canvass with zeal. Uncertain whether the troops he had led into Tryon County, a large portion of whom were legal voters, might return before the election day, he wrote from Johnstown, on the 20th of January, to the high-sheriff of Albany County, requesting him to adjourn the election from day to day, that the freeholders in the little army in the Mohawk Valley might not be deprived of the privilege of voting for representa-

tives at that "alarming and critical juncture."* The Sheriff (Henry TenEyck) was in political sympathy with Schuyler, and would have so adjourned the voting had not the troops, as we have seen, returned to Albany on the day before that appointed for the election.

The various public duties imposed upon General Schuyler at that time by Congress, the provisional government of New York and his fellow-citizens, within the space of a few weeks, vividly portray, not only the embarrassments and distresses of the times when there were few men to whom in that dark hour the performance of such varied and high duties might be safely intrusted, but also testify to the high esteem in which he was held by the representatives of the whole country, and the unbounded confidence reposed in him. That esteem and confidence he publicly acknowledged as his highest reward; and they formed the most potential answer to the detractions which had already fallen from the lips of jealous men in and out of Congress. Officers of New England troops, especially some of those of Connecticut, were ever watchful for causes of complaint against him; and the friendly tone generally apparent in his official correspondence with Wooster was not a correct interpretation of his feelings. His earlier experience with that officer made him extremely sensitive to every expression on the part of the veteran that might be construed as censure or disrespect. And so it was that when, in a courteously written letter, Wooster mentioned the bad conduct of some prisoners whom Schuyler, as an act of humanity, had allowed to return to Canada, the remarks were regarded by the latter as a reflection upon his character and policy. And he wrote to the Continenta.

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

Congress in no pleasant humor, complaining that Wooster had before written to him "with unbecoming subacidity." With his usual frankness, he sent a copy of the letter to Wooster. That was the beginning of an open rupture. Schuyler's orders thereafter had so strong a flavor of "subacidity," and were so imperious, that the old Connecticut general could not endure them with patience, and his letters in reply bore a delicate tone of retort. The volcano of Schuyler's indignation was finally uncapped when Wooster wrote to him that the commanding officer in Canada "is the only competent judge of what is proper, and what not, for the internal regulations of the army and for the immediate safety of the country."*

Schuyler instantly sent a copy of this letter to Philadelphia, with one from himself written in forcible terms. He said:

"Congress will perceive by General Wooster's letter of the 11th instant to them, and that of the same date to me, that matters are got to such a height between us, that either he or I must immediately quit this department, for I cannot consistently with my honor or my feelings serve with an officer who early in this campaign witnessed a contempt for my orders, and proceeded so far as to offer insults of the grossest kind. * * * A respect for my country obliged me to suppress that just resentment which I felt rising in me. But wounded in my honor, although willing to be spent in the glorious cause in which my country is engaged, and to continue to serve her under all the disagreeable incidents attendant on a ruined constitution, yet she cannot expect in addition a sacrifice of my reputation by calmly bearing indignities. * * * It is almost needless to observe to Congress that no altercation which I may have with any officer which I command will ever draw off my attention from my duty. I trust my conduct in public life, both before and since I have had a command, have sufficiently evinced my principles on the present unhappy contest. I shall never court the favor of officers or men, unless they are deserving. Such as are not, I shall always freely and indiscriminately censure. If this gives umbrage, it can never be remedied while I am in command, because I cannot hesitate a moment between giving

* Autograph Letter, February 11, 1776.

offence and doing my duty. Had I consulted my own inclinations, I should not have ventured on the storms of public life, well knowing that my want of abilities would expose me to a thousand difficulties, and deprive me of the inestimable comforts of domestic life, and that I should be envied by those weak minds who are dazzled with power, but have not elevation of sentiment enough to conceive that to some men it has no charms."

In this case, as in subsequent ones, Schuyler's nobility of soul and generous nature made his actions rise above the petty considerations of personal grievances, and he not only continued his efforts in behalf of his country with increased zeal, but expressed words of sympathy for Wooster, in his letters to Congress and to the General himself, because of the great embarrassments with which that officer was compelled to contend in Canada. In a letter to Wooster written only a week after the one in which he so bitterly complained of the General's conduct, he said: "I was well aware of the difficulties you must labor under for want of hard money, and that unless you are speedily supplied our cause will suffer; but unfortunately, I have not got a single sixpence. I have employed proper persons to try if any can be procured on my private account in this part of the country; whatever may be got shall be immediately sent you." Two days later he wrote—"Whatever my sentiments are with regard to our private disputes, I assure you that I very sincerely pity your situation."*

The Congress had observed with anxiety the gathering of this cloud so full of portents of mischief, and had already taken measures to disperse it by appointing Major-General Charles Lee to the command of the troops in Canada, and directing General Schuyler to repair to New York to take command of the forces, and conduct the

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

military operations there; at the same time requesting the President of Congress to inform Schuyler of the new arrangement and the reasons that led to it. This was done three days before Schuyler wrote the above letter.*

"I must beg leave," wrote the President, "to inform you that Congress hear, with great regret, the precarious state of your health, and the return of your disorder. They are fully apprised and sensible of your services and abilities; the influence and weight you have among the Indian tribes; the service you are capable of doing to the common cause even in the present infirm state of your health, and at the same time being apprehensive, should you be sent on so fatiguing service as that of Canada must be, especially at this inclement season, your country might be deprived of the advantage of your services which are so much wanted at this critical conjuncture, they have thought it best to send General Lee to Canada, reserving to you the command of the forces and the conduct of the military operations in the colony of New York.

"Your known zeal and warm attachment to the cause of liberty assure me that you will concert with General Lee the best means of securing the communication of the lakes, and of facilitating the transportation of necessaries for the use of the army in Canada, and give him all the aid and assistance in your power for accomplishing the great ends we all have in view."†

Circumstances soon caused the plans of Congress to be changed. There was reason to apprehend active operations against the middle and southern colonies, and in order to prepare for their defence they were divided into two military Departments, each commanded by a Major-General. Congress revoked the order directing General Lee to repair to Canada, and sent him to take command of the Southern Department, and at the same time promoted Brigadier-General John Thomas to the rank of major-general, and ordered him to take the command of the troops in Canada. The order directing General Schuyler to proceed to New York was also revoked, and

* Journals of Congress, ii. 65.

† Autograph Letter of John Hancock, President of Congress, February 20, 1776.

he was directed to remain in Albany where his services would be of the greatest importance. Congress and the whole country were deeply impressed with the value of those services at that time, for there was no man who could adequately fill his place. His ill health was the cause of much public anxiety, and private and public prayers were offered for the preservation of his life. The President of Congress, in a letter to him, conveying intelligence of the change in plans, wrote:

I am extremely sorry to find you recover health so slowly. I hope that your attention to public affairs will not make you neglect the care necessary for perfecting your recovery. The Congress have the most anxious concern for you, knowing the important service you can render to your country at this critical conjuncture."

After mentioning the appointment of General Thomas to the command in Canada, President Hancock continued: "Still they rely greatly on your efforts for perfecting the work so conspicuously begun and so well conducted under your orders last campaign. The supplies of provisions, military stores, etc., for the army in Canada must be procured in these colonies and sent across the lakes. On these supplies being regularly sent will depend not only the success but the existence of the army in Canada. For this reason I am directed to inform you, it is the desire of Congress you should, for the present, or until you receive further orders, fix your headquarters at Albany. There, without being exposed to the fatigues of the camp until your health is perfectly restored, you will be in a situation to direct the proper arrangements for supplying the army in Canada, and to superintend the operations necessary for the defence of New York and Hudson's River (the security of which is of the last importance), and also the affairs of the whole middle Department. The generals under you will receive and execute your orders, and in case of necessity you will be ready to bring down to your aid the whole force of the colony."*

* Autograph Letter, March 7, 1776. It is proper here to correct a mistake or a grave misapprehension into which Mr. Bancroft has been led. In his account of "The Retreat from Canada," in the eighth volume of his *History of the United States*, he says, on page 423, when speaking of the appointment of General Lee to the command in Canada, that Schuyler had "refused the service." Again, speaking of the appointment of General Gates to that command, Mr. Bancroft says (viii. 432): "The appointment could give Schuyler no umbrage, for, he himself had uniformly refused to go into Canada." I have not dis-

CHAPTER II.

At the opening of the Spring of 1776 the situation of the little patriot army in Canada was extremely perilous. Everything was needed to secure its existence even; men, money, food, clothing, arms and ammunition. To enable

covered in the official correspondence of Schuyler (all of which is before me) a single sentence that might be justly construed as a *refusal* "to go into Canada." On account of his bodily ailments—liable to sudden and severe attacks of gout, asthma and rheumatism—he had asked Congress to accept his resignation and to fill his place with a more robust man. This Congress had refused to do. So far from uttering a refusal "to go into Canada" were the words of his patriotic letters of this time, that on the day after his return from suppressing the Tory rising in Tryon County, and only a short time before Congress ordered General Lee into Canada, he wrote to the President of that body, saying: "I frankly confess, sir, that I have been greatly chagrined to see the little order that prevailed in the troops under my command, and that, added to the bad state of my health, were the only inducements which made me wish to retire. The first, I hope, will not so much prevail in future, but I am sorry that I have no prospect that the latter will ever mend. Much indisposed when I set out for Tryon County, the severity of the weather, and the fatigue incident to the command of an undisciplined and enraged multitude, ready to run into imprudences of the most dangerous nature, and only to be prevented by the greatest attention and vigilance, has greatly increased my disorder, a complication of which now confines me to my room. But, sir, the affairs of my country are in a worse situation than when I requested to retire. This is motive sufficient for me to continue in *any* station, however inconvenient, in which my countrymen and my superiors are pleased to think I may be of service. I will continue, then, to do what I can. My country may justly claim my last services; it shall have them."—Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

It may, with truth, be said, that bodily infirmities and the expressed desires of Congress that he should remain at Albany, where he would be far more useful as the Eye of the Northern Department and general director of its affairs, than at any other place, uniformly "refused" to let Schuyler "go into Canada."—See Hancock's letter, p. 26.

it to successfully prosecute the siege of Quebec and secure the conquest of Canada by force or persuasion, at least ten thousand men with mortars, cannon, shot, shell, provisions, and hard money, were demanded. These were all lacking, notwithstanding Congress and the Provincial authorities had, since the middle of January, when the news of Montgomery's death created the most intense desire everywhere to retrieve the disaster at Quebec, been untiring in efforts to send such a force into Canada, well armed and supplied. At the middle of March less than two thousand men had moved toward the St. Lawrence, and of these, full fifteen hundred were yet between Lake Champlain and Montreal. Meanwhile General Schuyler had sent over five thousand dollars in specie to General Wooster, which he had collected and given his own notes for, payable in kind, on demand.

When Arnold, soon after the death of Montgomery, was able to resume command, he had but a handful of sick and disheartened troops, enveloped in the snows of a rigorous Canadian winter, about three miles from the city walls. His military chest was exhausted; his paper money was worthless in spite of his positive orders to punish all who should refuse to receive it in pay for army supplies, and the whole force of besiegers was surging with discontent and mutinous elements, fostered by a few unpatriotic officers. Fatigue and sickness had exhausted the strength of the troops, and at the middle of February small-pox made its appearance as an epidemic in the little army,* while there were no adequate means for arresting its ravages. Considering the doom of that army as sealed, the inhabitants of the province were almost a unit in opposition to the invaders. Wooster, at Montreal, was too

* Autograph Letter of James Van Rensselaer, February 22, 1776.

weak in men and supplies to render Arnold efficient aid, and the latter was compelled to keep up the siege of Quebec, and its comparative isolation from the surrounding country, with not one half the strength in men of that of the garrison before him. It was done, Wooster wrote to Schuyler, "in a most surprising manner." Fortunately for the besiegers, the cautious or timid Carleton preferred to wait for expected reinforcements when the St. Lawrence should be clear of ice, rather than risk the possible disasters of a sortie. It was a mistake, for a sortie judiciously managed might have easily scattered the besiegers to the winds and allowed Carleton to ascend the river, drive all of the invaders out of Canada, and perhaps sieze the strong posts on Lake Champlain. At one time the number of Arnold's effective troops did not exceed five hundred, and never more than eight hundred. "You will be surprised," he wrote to Schuyler, "to hear that we have been reinforced with only one hundred and fifty men from Montreal. The duty is extremely severe in this inclement climate, the troops being obliged to lay constantly on their arms, and mount guard every other night, and, but for a few officers of spirit, all would have been lost."* He maintained the siege gallantly until the arrival of Wooster on the first of April, and asked for only a few more men to enable him to conquer the walled city before him. "I have no thoughts," he wrote at the middle of March, "of leaving this proud town until I enter it in triumph. I am in the way of my duty, and I know no fear." For his gallant services in the disastrous assault on Quebec, Congress had, in January, promoted Arnold to the rank and pay of Brigadier-General, and those who knew him only as a soldier predicted for him a brilliant military career.

* Autograph Letter, February 10, 1776.

Unfortunately he did not possess a sufficient moral foundation upon which a truly noble character might securely rest.

While the cause of the colonists in Canada was in this perilous condition, General Schuyler was co-operating with Congress, the provincial authorities and Washington, to the fullest extent, in efforts to throw into that province a well-appointed army of ten thousand men. Congress made a very promising resolve, and called loudly upon New York and New England for men and supplies. The provincial authorities made urgent requisitions upon their people; and Washington, then besieging the British in Boston, put forth every effort to accomplish his task very speedily, so as to detach some of his troops for service in Canada. But resolves of Congress, and calls for volunteers did not produce many men, nor did requisitions for supplies find ready responses. The truth is the country was sparsely populated and comparatively poor. The region nearest Canada from which supplies ought to have been obtained was mostly a wilderness; and even in that section, having Albany for its centre and the efficient General Schuyler there, exerting his extraordinary personal influence and the powers of a wide discretion given him by Congress, men and supplies were slowly obtained, and adequate transportation by land could not be found to move such supplies to the destined field of operations. The ice in the lakes would no longer bear loaded sleds; the snows were rapidly melting in the warm March sun, and the frozen ground was dissolving into deep mud, making the roads almost impassable even for unburdened wagons. When, at the middle of March, Washington had driven the British out of Boston, and was in a condition to send help to the little army in Canada, and Wooster was

preparing to go down to Quebec to conduct the military operations there with a reinforced army, it was easier to transport ten thousand troops, with supplies, from England to that city on the St. Lawrence, three thousand miles, than it was to transport an equal number of troops and quantity of supplies from the Upper Hudson to Quebec, a distance of only about as many hundreds.

While these formidable obstacles were in the way of successful military operations in Canada, the change in the sentiments of the people in that province, from friendliness to hostility to the Americans, was positive and alarming. They gave the invaders no countenance, and would not sell them a pound of provisions unless paid for in specie. This was caused partly by the disasters at Quebec, the lack of specie, and the failures to reinforce the invading army, and partly by the conduct of Wooster and Arnold. The former was unfitted by age, temper and education for the delicate position in which he had been placed, and which he had held for several months. He was a Puritan of the Calvinistic stamp, and so hated "popery" in all its manifestations, that he could hardly be civil toward the Roman Catholics by whom he was surrounded. Instead of conciliating them, he repelled them by his stern bigotry. The clergy were offended by his intolerance and social narrowness, and the Canadian nobility were disgusted with his stinginess in living. These two classes of citizens—the priests and nobles—led all the rest, and the mass of the common people followed as one. The leaders sneered at Wooster's attempt to organize a civil government, and the people were taught to regard Arnold as a petty tyrant. When the enlightened, courtly, and just-minded Montgomery was in command, leaders and people were disposed to regard him as their deliverer, and the more orderly troops

as their friends; now the leaders hated and despised Wooster and Arnold, and the people regarded the troops under them as intruders and a scourge. The continental officers, plain in appearances and often uncouth in deportment, were made targets for ridicule and satire; and Carleton and his fellow-officers laughed heartily when from the ramparts at Quebec they saw Wooster, stooping with age and the apparent burden of an immense wig, solemnly walking around the walls trying to discover their weak points.

The garrison affected supreme contempt for the besiegers, yet they were careful, under many provocations, not to measure strength with them. For five months Carleton and his troops were closely imprisoned by them. The despised invaders had burnt the suburbs of the city, battered the walls with solid shot, and thrown red-hot ones among the shipping; made several daring attempts to carry the city by assault or strategem, and compelled military officers and distinguished civilians to mount guard. One officer declared that for eighty successive nights he slept in his clothes, to be ready for action in case of necessity. Finally, when strong reinforcements arrived from England early in May, Carleton made a sortie at the moment when he knew that the patriots were withdrawing, and in his report he foolishly said he "marched out of the ports of St. Louis and St. John's to see what these mighty boasters were about." His report was a pitiful comment upon his previous conduct.

While the lakes were frozen and the sleighing was good, Schuyler had been sending forward such provisions, and lighter artillery, and ammunition as he could obtain, while recruits from New England were also making their way into Canada in small parties. Heavy cannon, shot and shell, had been gathered at Poughkeepsie and awaited the opening of the Hudson

River. This was cleared of ice on the 16th of March, the day before the British evacuated Boston, when sloops reached Albany and the heavy ordnance and other munitions of war went forward. Among these were eight tons of powder from Philadelphia. Schuyler had provided batteaux for their transportation on the Upper Hudson and the lakes, and when the latter were clear of ice at the middle of April, cannon, shot, shell, powder, provisions, and about six hundred New York troops, who had been gathered at Albany, moved on toward Canada by way of Lake George, Ticonderoga, and Lake Champlain. Before the departure of the troops, the small-pox had broken out among them.

On the 27th of March, General Wooster, placing Colonel Moses Hazen in command at Montreal, left for Quebec, and assumed the chief direction of military affairs there on the first of April. On the day after his arrival Arnold was disabled by the falling of his horse upon his lately wounded leg. Considering himself slighted by Wooster, who did not consult him on military affairs, he obtained leave of absence, and repairing to Montreal, took command there.

While Schuyler was engaged in the moving of a force into Canada, other matters of great importance commanded his attention. Unpleasant intelligence came from Tryon County concerning the movements of the Indians at the westward, and it was evident that relations with the Six Nations were assuming alarming aspects. Early in March the savages held a conference at Onondaga, and it was understood that they intended to hold another at Albany, with the Indian Commissioners. This Schuyler dreaded, for he had no Indian goods to give them, as usual, as a peace-offering, and they were likely to be disgusted and become hostile in consequence. At the same time he was

informed that Sir John Johnson had evidently violated his parole and was inciting the Indians to war. Schuyler immediately summoned the baronet to Albany. He appeared on the 18th of March, but his accusers did not, and he feigned such friendliness and honesty of purpose, declaring that he considered his parole of honor a sacred obligation, that the General gave him his confidence, in a degree. He corroborated the rumors which had already reached Schuyler that the Six Nations were preparing for hostilities, and professed to deprecate their conduct.

The hostile attitude of the Indians greatly distressed Schuyler. He had no troops to send into Tryon County to menace the savages or defend the people, and he had no goods with which he might conciliate them by presents. He could not offer any of them employment as soldiers, for he had steadily opposed propositions of that kind, on the plea that humanity might be outraged by the deeds of savages who could not always be restrained; and chiefly through his influence, Congress had just resolved not to employ Indians as soldiers in the armies before the tribes to which they might belong should, in a national council, held in the usual way, consent thereto, nor then without the express approbation of Congress.*

There was, at this time, two efficient emissaries among the Indians. These were James Deane, an interpreter in the employment of the Indian Commissioners, and Samuel Kirkland, a missionary ordained for that purpose under the sanction of the Scotch Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen. Kirkland labored incessantly at the breaking out of the war to keep the Six Nations neutral, but succeeded only with the Oneidas, who, fortunately, were contiguous to the white settlers on the western

* Journals of Congress, ii. 83.

borders of Tryon County. To these men Schuyler looked for the most efficient aid at this perilous time. They had kept him well informed of the movements and temper of the Indians, and Deane was directed to come to Albany with a deputation of Oneidas and others who were expected. Schuyler's interview with them was not very satisfactory, and when the Oneidas, and deputies of seven tribes in Canada departed, Deane was directed to go back with them, bearing a message to the Six Nations from the General, in which he set forth, in glowing terms, an account of the precipitous flight of the British from Boston.

On the 28th of March a council of the confederated nations was held in a hemlock grove. The news from Boston astounded them. The council was greatly divided; debate was warm. Deane took part in the proceedings, and soon found that the usual desire of the Indians to be on the winning side inclined the majority to neutrality. The result was that at the end of three days the tribes gave each other the usual pledges to observe a strict neutrality in the present quarrel. This result was brought about chiefly through the instrumentality of the faithful Oneidas, who had firmly withstood the fierce menaces of the Cayugas, when their indignation was hot because Sir John Johnson had given up his war-belt (surrendered) to General Schuyler.

At about this time Schuyler was annoyed by the conduct of some captive British officers who had been sent to Albany from Canada, some of them accompanied by their families. At first they refused to give their parole, and some of them intimated that they should not consider a breach of it, if given, criminal. They found in Schuyler a kind of man different from Wooster, or Arnold, or,

indeed, any of the officers then in Canada. He was courtly in deportment, affable and scholarly in speech, and firm and stern in duty. He told them they must sign a parole, or suffer close confinement. All but a Captain Dunder signed the promise, and he was closely imprisoned at Albany, and afterward in Kingston. The remainder were told precisely what would be required of them. "I summoned them," Schuyler wrote to Washington, "and informed them that if any of them attempted an escape after having given their parole, and I could lay hands on them, I should resent the injury done to mankind in general by hanging such faithless wretches."* He was never afterward troubled with the insolence of British officers. None so foolishly haughty were again sent to him. To those under his charge he was uniformly kind and considerate, and made every provision in his power for the comfort of themselves and their families.

Early in April Schuyler had the pleasure of entertaining distinguished guests, in the persons of three Commissioners with their attendants, whom Congress, at Schuyler's suggestion as we have seen, had appointed † to repair to Canada, clothed with the full powers of the body that sent them. The Commissioners were Dr. Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania, and Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll, of Maryland. They were invested by Congress with extraordinary powers. They were authorized to receive Canada into the union of colonies, and to organize a republican government there. They were empowered to suspend military officers, issue military commissions, act as umpires in disputes between the civil and military authorities, vote at councils of war, raise additional troops, and draw upon Congress for one hundred thousand dollars. They were

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books. † Journals of Congress, ii. 62.

charged with the duty of conciliating the people, healing dissensions, and winning the Canadians of all classes to the cause of the struggling republicans, by kindness, reason, and appeals to their interest. They were authorized to establish a newspaper in that province as an aid in the work, to be conducted by a friend to Congress, in the French language.

Mr. Carroll, in accordance with a request of Congress, prevailed upon his brother John, an eminent Roman Catholic priest (afterward the first Archbishop of Baltimore) to accompany the Commission. He was then forty-one years of age, and in full bodily and mental vigor. He had been educated in France, and spoke the French language perfectly. It was expected that he would be eminently useful to the Commissioners in bringing over the powerful clergy of Canada to the side of the colonists, notwithstanding he consented to go on the condition that he was to do no more than to persuade his co-religionists to remain neutral. It was hoped that when that degree of friendliness should be attained, the transposition from hostility to active sympathy would be a necessary result.

With this accession to their strength the Commissioners, with their servants, left Philadelphia late in March, for the St. Lawrence. Schuyler was apprised of the intended time of their setting out, by Dr. Franklin, that he might provide for their journey beyond Albany. At Brunswick, in New Jersey, they overtook the Baron de Woedtke, a Prussian officer, who had been commissioned a brigadier-general, and directed to accompany the Commissioners to Canada and enter upon active service there. Woedtke had been a major in the Prussian service and held a place on the staff of Frederick the Great, but having been compelled to officially announce to his majesty the death of

the monarch's favorite nephew, the brutal King took a dislike to him and drove him into exile. He sought employment in the Continental Army, and now had the happiness of travelling toward the field of active operation with Franklin, who, above all other Americans, he most desired to have as a friend, for there existed a remote family relationship between them.

After journeying two days, the Commissioners reached New York, where they were entertained by Lord Stirling, (William Alexander) then a brigadier in the Continental Army. He furnished a sloop for their transportation to Albany, and at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 2nd of April they embarked and set sail. They lay at anchor that night off the upper end of York Island, and were detained there until five o'clock in the evening of the next day by a heavy north-east storm, when a stiff breeze came suddenly from the south and bore them more than thirty miles to the southern entrance to the Highlands. In the narrow strait at Anthony's Nose they encountered a severe head wind. The storm still raged, and there, in much peril, they lay at anchor all night, and did not set sail again until noon the next day. Then having repaired injured sails, they proceeded a few miles and anchored between West Point and Constitution Island. The Commissioners went ashore upon the island to inspect Fort Constitution, upon which much dependence had been placed as a barrier to the passage of the river by hostile vessels. The Commissioners found it inadequate, and as rumors of the appearance of a British fleet off Sandy Hook were prevalent when they left New York, they sent an express to Congress with an assurance that the Hudson River offered almost a free passage for the ships and troops of the enemy into the open country above the Highlands. They also

informed Congress that in the Highlands were many eligible points for batteries which might make the country above them inaccessible by the river.

On the morning of the fourth day after leaving New York, the sloop's sails were spread before a fine breeze, and at sunset her anchor was cast four miles below Albany after a most delightful voyage of ninety miles. The Commissioners spent the night on board, and after breakfast they stepped on shore at Albany, where they were met by General Schuyler and invited to dine with him. "He behaved to us with great civility," Charles Carroll wrote in his journal; "lives in pretty style; has two daughters (Betsey and Peggy), lively, agreeable, black-eyed gals." The first-named was Elizabeth, afterward the wife of Alexander Hamilton, and the other was Margaret, who became the wife of the Albany Patroon, Stephen Van Rensselaer.

We have observed that John Thomas was appointed a major-general and ordered to take the chief command in Canada. After performing gallant and efficient service with Washington, before Boston, he left there when the British fled, and arrived in Albany at the close of March. So early as that period, according to the record of one of his guests, General Schuyler was contemplating that canal system in which many years afterward he was so deeply engaged, especially in the project of a connection between the Hudson River and Lake Champlain. "General Schuyler informed me," Carroll wrote in his journal, "that an uninterrupted water carriage between New York and Quebec might be perfected at fifty thousand pounds sterling expense."

On the morning of the 9th of April the Commissioners and the churchman, Generals Schuyler and Thomas,

and Mrs. Schuyler and her two daughters, left Albany in a large country wagon, for the General's seat at Saratoga, thirty-two miles up the valley of the Hudson. It was an extremely rough ride, over very muddy roads, and Dr. Franklin, then seventy years of age, was greatly exhausted by it and his previous long and tempestuous voyage from New York. "I begin to apprehend," he wrote to Josiah Quincey, from Saratoga, "that I have undertaken a fatigue that, at my time of life, may prove too much for me; so I sit down to write to a few friends by way of farewell." But most agreeable rest and the kindest and most cheerful nursing for a week by Mrs. Schuyler, whose presence was always like a ray of sunshine to those about her, restored the philosopher to his accustomed vigor, and on the 16th of April, snow still on the ground, the Commissioners renewed their journey toward Lake George. "I parted with regret from the amiable family of General Schuyler," Charles Carroll wrote in his journal. "The ease and affability with which we were treated, and the lively behavior of the young ladies, made Saratoga a most pleasing *séjour*, the remembrance of which will long remain with me." After a fatiguing journey over wretched roads, for two days, the Commissioners reached Fort George, not far from the ruins of Fort William Henry (where the Fort William Henry house now stands), at the southern end of Lake George, in which the ice was then broken up and floating in huge masses.

Generals Schuyler and Thomas were at Fort George, having pressed forward from Saratoga the day after their arrival there. They reached the post on the morning of the 12th, in a furious storm of snow which covered the country as far south as the Highlands six inches in depth. There they found everything in readiness to go forward

when the ice, then honeycombed by heat, should dissolve. Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey troops were there; and parts of the regiments and battalions had gone forward and were already in Canada. Schuyler at once despatched a courier to Hazen at Montreal, and Wooster at Quebec, with the cheering tidings of approaching reinforcements and an assurance that three or four thousand more soldiers would immediately follow. He directed General Thompson, at New York, to send forward troops as quickly as possible, and also to reinforce the weak posts in the Hudson Highlands. He directed Hazen and Wooster to promulgate as widely as possible among the Canadians an account of the hasty flight of the British from Boston, hoping thereby to awaken new confidence in the cause of the patriots among the doubting and wavering inhabitants.

As the ice was floating loosely in the lake, the Commissioners determined to press forward. Schuyler had prepared for them a stout batteau, thirty-six feet in length, eight in breadth, and one foot in depth. It had a single mast, a blanket sail, the shelter of an awning for a cabin, and plenty of oars. Upon this broad float they embarked at a little past noon on the 19th of April, and in a voyage of thirty-eight miles to the foot of the lake, they battled with the ice most of the time for thirty-six hours. From the landing at the lower end of the lake, six yoke of oxen drew the batteau upon wheels four miles to Lake Champlain, at Ticonderoga, where it was again launched. There they remained five days, during which time Schuyler was prostrated by sickness, of which he wrote to Washington from Fort George, on the 27th, saying: "A vile ague seized me some days ago, but Dr. Franklin and the other gentlemen administered such a number of doses of Peru-

vian bark [quinine] that it has left me, and I hope that I shall last at least for this campaign."* Although Schuyler was then only forty-three years of age, illness in various forms had so shattered his frame during the past two years that he sometimes indulged the despondent thought that he was a hopeless invalid. He was a stranger to ease from suffering of some kind during the whole time that he was performing such an immense amount of mental and physical labor for the good of his country and mankind. History presents no parallel to his case in its records of sacrifices on the altar of patriotism.

Suffering as he did, perplexed as he was by reasonable and unreasonable demands in every form, for help in the public service which he had no means for satisfying, and fretted continually by sectional jealousies and mean slanders from the lips of low-bred people in high and low places, it is no wonder that General Schuyler won for himself, at this time, the character of an irritable and discourteous aristocrat among those who had been made to feel the lash of his indignation in return for indignities. His condition and surroundings often led him to exercise a harshness toward his inferiors in rank which was foreign to his nature. Captain Graydon, in his Memoirs, furnishes a notable example, in recording a scene that occurred at Schuyler's headquarters, at Lake George, a few weeks after the Commissioners were there. Graydon had been appointed by Congress to carry specie to General Schuyler, for the use of the Northern army. He wrote:

"At length, after a journey of three hundred and twenty miles, arriving at the quarters of General Schuyler, on the border of the lake, we acquitted ourselves of our charge. * * * Though General Schuyler has been charged with such haughtiness of demeanor as to have induced the troops of New England to decline serving under his com-

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

mand, as stated in Marshall's Life of Washington, the reception we met with was not merely courteous but kind. His quarters being contracted, a bed was prepared for us in his own apartment, and we experienced civilities that were flattering from an officer of his high rank. Though thoroughly the man of business, he was also a gentleman and man of the world, and well calculated to sustain the reputation of our army in the eyes of the British officers (disposed to depreciate it), as is evinced by the account given by General Burgoyne of the manner in which he was entertained by him at Albany. But that he should have been displeasing to the Yankees, I am not at all surprised. He certainly was at no pains to conceal the extreme contempt he felt for a set of officers who were both a disgrace to their stations and the cause in which they acted. Being yet a stranger to the character of these men and the constitution of that part of our military force which in Pennsylvania was considered as the bulwark of the nation, I must confess my surprise at an incident which took place while at dinner. Besides the General, the members of his family and ourselves, there were at table a lady and gentleman from Montreal. A New England captain came in upon some business, with that abject servility of manner which belongs to persons of the meanest rank. He was neither asked to sit or take a glass of wine, and after announcing his wants, was dismissed with that peevishness of tone we apply to a low and vexatious intruder. This man, in his proper sphere, might have been entitled to better treatment, but when presuming to thrust himself into a situation, in which far other qualifications than his were required, and upon an occasion, too, which involved some of the most important of human interests, I am scarcely prepared to say it was unmerited."*

The Northern army was greatly demoralized at that time, and insubordination everywhere prevailed. This condition of things tried Schuyler's patience to the uttermost. "The licentiousness of our troops," he wrote to Washington, from Fort George, on the 27th of April, "both in Canada and in this quarter, is not easily to be described, nor have all my efforts been able to put a stop to these scandalous excesses. I shall, however, continue to give the most pointed orders, and shall hope for a more becoming conduct in future." He added: "I have reason to think General Thomas, who left Ticonderoga on Sunday, will reach Quebec to-day or to-morrow, and that the

* Graydon's Memoirs, page 122.

Commissioners will arrive about the same time at Montreal. They parted with me on Wednesday, with a fair wind. * * * Our military chest is exhausted, and we are deeply involved in debt. Ten thousand pounds will hardly pay what I am personally bound for on the public account.

The Commissioners left Ticonderoga in Schuyler's great batteau with a "fair wind," as he said, after an exchange of cordial good wishes with the patriot. At the end of three days and a half of toil and fatigue—rowing, sailing, battling with ice floes and head winds, and camping on the wet shores at night—they reached St. John's at the foot of the lake. Another hard day's travel in Montreal *caleches* (two-wheeled carriages), over the miry flat country on which some snow yet lay, brought them to La Prairie, opposite Montreal. They crossed the rapid St. Lawrence, and were warmly greeted on the beach at the Post Vandreuil.

"We came hither the night before last," John Carroll wrote to his mother, "and were received at the landing by General Arnold and a great body of officers, gentry, et cetera, and saluted by firing of cannon and other military honors. Being conducted to the General's house, we were served with a glass of wine, while people were crowding in to pay their compliments, which ceremony being over, we were shown into another apartment, and unexpectedly met in it a large assembly of ladies, most of them French. After drinking tea, and sitting some time, we went to an elegant supper, which was followed by the singing of the ladies, which proved very agreeable, and would have been more so, if we had not been so much fatigued with our journey. The next day was spent in receiving visits, and dining in a large company, with whom we were pressed to sup, but excused ourselves in order to write letters, of which this is one, and will be finished and dated tomorrow morning."*

So Father Carroll spent the day after the arrival of the Commissioners, but not so did the Commissioners them-

* Brent's "Biographical Sketch of the most Reverend John Carroll," p. 41.

selves. His mission was of a social nature; theirs was of more solemn import. They sat at a council of war that day, at which General Arnold presided,* and heard with dismay the appalling evidence that Canada was probably irretrievably lost to the confederated colonies. Already Colonel Hazen had written a long letter to General Schuyler, in which he gave a most gloomy picture of the almost total ruin of the cause of the colonists, in Canada, which the mismanagement of Wooster and the neglect of Congress, had produced. He said:

"You are not unacquainted with the friendly disposition of the Canadians when General Montgomery first penetrated into the country. The ready assistance which they gave on all occasions, by men, carriages and provisions, was most remarkable. Even when he was before Quebec many parishes offered their services in the reduction of that fortress, which was at that time thought unnecessary. But his most unfortunate fate, added to other incidents, has caused such a change in their disposition that we are no more to look upon them as friends, but, on the contrary, waiting an opportunity to join our enemies. That no observation of my own may remain obscure, I beg leave to observe that I think the clergy or guardians of the souls and conductors of the bodies of these enthusiasts have been neglected, perhaps in some instances ill-used. Be that as it may, they are unanimous (though privately) against our cause, and I have too much reason to fear many of them, with other people of some consequence, have carried on a correspondence the whole winter with General Carleton, in Quebec, and are now plotting our destruction. The peasantry, in general, have been ill-used. They have, in some instances, been dragooned, with the point of the bayonet, to furnish wood for the garrison at lower rates than the current price; also carriages and many other articles furnished, certificates given not legible, with only half a signature, and of consequence rejected by the Quarter-master general. It is true they are promised payment from time to time, yet they look upon such promises as vague, their labor and property lost, and the Congress or united colonies bankrupt; and in a more material point, they have not seen a sufficient force in the country to protect them. These matters furnish very strong arguments to be made use of by our enemies.

* The council was held at headquarters on the 30th of April, and was composed of Brigadier-General Benedict Arnold, *President*, and Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, Charles Carroll, Brigadier-General Woedtke, Colonel Moses Hazen, and Colonel De Haas, *members*.

"To take a view of our little army here: I have pretty good information that our strength in camp before Quebec did not, on the 18th of March, much exceed that of the day after General Montgomery's fall. General Arnold had, at that time, about 400 men in a small-pox hospital. Neither order or subordination prevails, and, of course, shortly no soldiers. On the 15th of this month those who wintered in this country are free, and in my opinion, neither art, craft or money will prevail on many of them to reënlist to serve in Canada. Colonel Livingston's regiment, consisting of about 200, [Canadians] will be free on the same day. Very few of them, if any, will reëngage. Of my intended regiment, I have about 250. The want of money obliges me to stop, where I shall remain until matters take a change, if ever, in our favor, as not a man more will now engage; and those whom I have enlisted will go to the right about, in case the Canadians, in general, join against us—at least that is my opinion. With respect to the better sort of people, both French and English, seven-eighths are Tories, who would wish to see our throats cut, and, perhaps, would readily assist in doing it.

"The taking of Quebec is not very probable, and the chance of keeping the country, according to the present appearance of affairs, is totally against us. No preparation has, is, or can be made to guard the river, for a very good reason—no money or men of skill to do it. The whole country left without any other kind of law than that of the arbitrary power of the sword in the hands of the several commanding officers, too frequently abused in all cases of this nature. * * * * The savages hereabouts are cool. They keep aloof from us. We are to expect little or no friendships from them; and, indeed, little or no precaution has been taken for that purpose. It is expected by some that numbers will come down from the interior of the country and fall upon our frontier early in the Spring."*

Three weeks later, Arnold, in a letter to Schuyler, from Montreal, gave him a sad picture of affairs at Quebec when he left there at the beginning of April. He said:

"Inclosed is a list of our force before Quebec, which, I am sorry to say, is so very inconsiderable and illy supplied with every requisite to carry on a siege, that I am very dubious of their success. The 2nd instant we opened a battery of three guns, and one howitzer, on Point Levi; another battery of six guns, two howitzers and two small mortars on the heights of Abraham, and one of two guns at the Traverse, were nearly completed when I came away. To supply the whole there are only three or four tons of powder, and ten or twelve of shot; no engineer, and few artillerymen. Two fire-ships, one at Isle Orleans and one at Point aux Trembles, were nearly completed, to attempt

* Autograph Letter, April 1, 1776.

burning their ships, as soon as the ice would admit of it. We have no seamen, and not one good commander to manage these vessels, or I should conceive great hopes of their success. Our army is supplied with provisions to the 10th of May, after which time their only resource for meat is from below. This country, which is not plentiful at best, is nearly exhausted of beef. We can procure a supply of flour, if furnished with cash. I am now stretching our credit for that purpose, which is at a low ebb. I cannot help lamenting that more effectual measures have not been adopted to secure this country in our interest, an object which appears to me of the highest importance to the colonies. Colonel Hazen, who is a sensible, judicious officer, and well acquainted with this country, has shown me his letter to you of the 1st instant. I am sorry to say I think most of his remarks but too true, and that if we are not immediately supported with eight or ten thousand men, a good train of artillery, well served, and a military chest well furnished, the ministerial troops, if they attempt it, will regain the country and we shall be obliged to quit it, the fatal consequences of which are too obvious."*

So thought the Commissioners after the first day's conference with Arnold. They knew that the British ministry had been in negotiation with some German princes for a supply of mercenary troops for service against the colonists, but were not yet informed of the actual consummation of the bargain. They certainly knew that a considerable British force would be ready to ascend the St. Lawrence to Quebec so soon as the river should be cleared of ice, and that it would far outnumber the army of Congress in Canada. This fact, and the wretched state of affairs—more wretched than Hazen or Arnold had painted them in their letters—satisfied the Commissioners that Canada could not be held. In their first despatch to Congress they informed that body that its credit in Canada was totally destroyed "from the want of hard money, and the prejudice it is to our affairs." They wrote:

"Not the most trifling service can be procured without an assurance of instant pay in silver or gold. The express we sent from St. John's to inform the General of our arrival there, and to request carria-

* Autograph Letter, April 20, 1776.

ges for La Prairie, was stopped at the ferry, till a friend passing changed a dollar bill for him into silver; and we are obliged to that friend (Mr. McCartney) for his engagement to pay the *caleches*, or they would not have come for us. The general apprehension that we shall be driven out of the province as soon as the King's troops can arrive concurs with the frequent breaches of promise the inhabitants have experienced, in determining them to trust our people no further."*

They urged the necessity of sending, at least, the sum of twenty thousand pounds, in specie, with the utmost despatch, and said it seemed to be improper to propose the federal union of Canada with the other colonies until the money should arrive, and a sufficient army with it to secure the possession of the country. A week later they again wrote to Congress, urging the necessity of sending a supply of hard money, for they had tried in vain to borrow any, either on the public or their own private credit. They wrote:

"We cannot even sell sterling bills of exchange, which some of us have offered to draw. It seems it had been expected and given out by our friends that we should bring money with us. The disappointment has discouraged everybody, and established an opinion that none is to be had, or that Congress has not credit enough in their own colonies to procure it. Many of our friends are drained dry; others say they are so, fearing, perhaps, we shall never be able to reimburse them. They show us long accounts, no part of which we are able to discharge, of the supplies they have furnished to our army, and declare that they have borrowed and taken upon credit so long for our service that they can now be trusted no longer, even for what they want themselves. The Tories will not trust us a farthing, and some who, perhaps, wish us well, conceiving that we shall, through our own poverty, or from superior force, be soon obliged to abandon the country, are afraid to have any dealings with us, lest they should hereafter be called to account for abetting our cause. Our enemies take advantage of this distress to make us look contemptible in the eyes of the Canadians, who have been provoked by the violences of our military, in exacting provisions and services from them without pay—a conduct toward a people who suffered us to enter their country as friends, that the most urgent necessity can scarce excuse, since it has contributed much to the changing their good dispositions towards us, into enmity, and makes them wish our departure; and, accordingly, we

* Letter of the Commissioners to Congress, May 1, 1776.

have daily intimations of plots hatching and insurrections intended for expelling us on the first news of the arrival of the British army. You will see from hence that your Commissioners themselves are in a critical and most irksome situation, pestered hourly with demands, great and small, that they cannot answer, in a place where our cause has a majority of enemies, the garrison weak, and a greater would, without money, increase our difficulties. In short, if money cannot be had, to support your army here with honor, so as to be respected, instead of being hated by the people, we report it as our firm and unanimous opinion that it is better immediately to withdraw it. The fact before your eyes, that the powerful British nation cannot keep an army in a country where the inhabitants are become enemies, must convince you of the necessity of enabling us immediately to make these people our friends. Exclusive of a sum of money to discharge the debts already contracted, which General Arnold informs us amounts to fourteen thousand pounds, besides the account laid before Congress by Mr. Price, a further sum of hard money, not less than six thousand pounds, will be necessary to re-establish our credit in this colony. With this supply, and a little success, it may be possible to regain the affections of the people, to attach them firmly to our cause, and induce them to accept a free government, perhaps to enter the union; in which case the currency of our paper paper money will, we think, follow as a certain consequence."*

At the council of war, held on the 30th of April, it was agreed to fortify at Richelieu and Jaques Cartier, two important points on the St. Lawrence river, the first fifteen leagues, and the second eleven leagues, above Quebec. It was also determined to build at Chamblee six gondolas of a proper size to carry heavy cannon, to be under the direction of General Arnold, who was to employ Colonel Hazen to superintend their construction. Arnold had already sent Colonel Hazen to command at St. Johns, a few miles from Chamblee, for he was a brave and judicious officer, and well acquainted with the region and the inhabitants.† It was a post of great and growing importance, as we shall observe presently. Arnold had also ordered Colonel Timothy Bedel, of New Hampshire, with two hundred men, to the Cedars Rapids, above Montreal, to

* Letter of the Commissioners to Congress, May 8, 1776.

† Autograph Letter of Arnold, April 30, 1776.

prevent any goods being sent to the upper country, and to guard against a surprise from the British or their Indians.*

Circumstances soon modified the plans of Arnold and the Commissioners. Two days after their second letter to Congress was written, a courier arrived at Montreal with the startling intelligence that a British fleet had arrived at Quebec, with troops, a large force of which had landed, attacked the little American army there, and put it to flight. A council of war was immediately held, when it was resolved that the wisest measures to be adopted would be the withdrawal of the troops to St. Johns, fortify and reinforce them there, and at that point make a firm defensive stand, and endeavor to prevent a British army penetrating the country further southward. Orders were immediately issued for such movements, when Dr. Franklin (whose ill health compelled him to leave Canada), with Father Carroll, set off on his return to Philadelphia, there to expedite the new measures, and give to Congress full information of the state of affairs in the Northern Department. Chase and Carroll, the other two Commissioners, were left in Canada to superintend the retreat and the erection of defensive works on the Sorel or lower end of Lake Champlain.

Schuyler gave the venerable Franklin and his travelling companion every facility for comfort in his power in their voyage over the lakes and their journey to Albany, where Mrs. Schuyler furnished them with a comfortable carriage and careful driver to carry them to New York. "We arrived here safe yesterday evening, in your post-chaise, driven by Lewis," Franklin wrote to Schuyler. "I was unwilling to give so much trouble, and would have borrowed your sulkey, and driven myself; but good Mrs.

* Autograph Letter of Arnold, April 20, 1776

Schuyler insisted on a full compliance with your pleasure, as signified in your letter, and I was obliged to submit, which I was afterward very glad of, part of the road being very stony and much gullied, when I should, probably, have overset and broken my own bones, all the skill and dexterity of Lewis being no more than sufficient. Through the influence of your kind recommendation to the innkeepers on the road, we found a great readiness to supply us with a change of horses."*

On the same day Franklin wrote to the Commissioners in Canada, congratulating them on the great prize captured by an American privateer and carried into Boston, consisting of seventy-five tons of gunpowder and a thousand carbines, and added: "The German auxiliaries are certainly coming. It is our business to prevent their returning." Some of them were then on the ocean, in British transports, bound for Quebec.

* Autograph Letter, May 27, 1776.

CHAPTER III.

General Schuyler left Ticonderoga on the evening of the day on which the Commissioners sailed down Lake Champlain, and returned to Fort George, which he made his headquarters for several weeks. The exigencies of the service compelled him to exercise the arduous and then all-important functions of both quartermaster-general and commissary-general. No other man could have done what he did, in forwarding men and supplies to Canada. His exalted character as an upright and skilful business man, and his almost boundless personal influence, enabled him to control labor, materials and food within reach of that influence, in a marvellous manner.* His activity, in spite of perpetual suffering, was amazing. He made many journeys between Ticonderoga, Fort George, Saratoga and Albany, in response to urgent calls for his personal supervision of important affairs connected with every portion of the service in the Northern Department. The Indians, the Tories, the exchequer, the commissariat, the transportation, the recruiting, and the general supervision and

* "The duty of procuring supplies, though less splendid in its effects, is often more effectual to the safety and success of an army than prowess in the field. General Schuyler, by his thorough business habits, his precise attention to details, and by his skill and science in every duty connected with the equipment of an army, was admirably fitted to be at the head of the commissariat; and he gave life and vigor to every branch of the service. His versatile talents, equally adapted to investigation and action, rendered his merits as an officer of transcendent value."—*Chancellor Kent.*

direction of military and Indian affairs, all claimed and received his attention, while his daily correspondence with officers, committees, public authorities, the commander-in-chief, and Congress, conducted by his own hand, was extremely voluminous. He built batteaux and procured wagons in the comparative wilderness, when other officers could not do the same in populous districts. He procured subsistence from unsuspected or hidden sources, whence no other man could have drawn it; and he gathered specie, and sent it to the army, when Congress could not borrow a dollar. He forwarded supplies to the suffering army in the region of the St. Lawrence, in spite of the most appalling obstacles, the tardiness of moving troops, and the unpatriotic conduct of selfish men. With this tardiness and selfishness he was continually vexed. "Immediately on receiving intelligence of our distress, in Canada," he wrote to Washington from Fort George, on the 15th of May, "I flew to the communication below and sent on a part of Reed's [New Hampshire] regiment, the first of which I met on the 5th day after their leaving Albany, twenty-three miles below this. I had their heavy baggage taken out of the batteaux and loaded them with pork, acquainting the officers and men with the distress our people labored under in Canada, for want of provisions. But as I could not stay to see the boats off, being obliged to push further down the river to the other places of embarkation, no sooner was my back turned when the officers threw the provisions out of the batteaux and reloaded their baggage, by which means I have forty-eight barrels of pork less here than I should have had. At this outrage and infamous conduct I must, however, wink, lest the service should be still more retarded."*

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

This was one of scores of similar acts of insubordination and vexations to which Schuyler was continually exposed, but he pressed on in the way of duty to his bleeding country; and it is not too much to say, that by his personal exertions he saved the little army in Canada, smitten by disease and menaced by destruction, from intense suffering and even actual starvation.

The proceedings of Congress, at this period, would have given an observer but little hope of success for the struggling colonists, could he have comprehended the situation, as the student may to-day, in the light of sober history. Their councils were often divided by sectional and personal jealousies within and without the hall of legislation; and there seems to have been, on the part of a majority of the delegates, an amazing lack of correct knowledge respecting the actual condition of the forces in the field and the theatre of military operations. They also appear to have been frequently moved to important action by some sudden impulse, rather than by a grave consideration of the exigency; and at no time did they seem to fully apprehend the immense importance of securing the coöperation of the Canadian colony, in the revolt and in the struggle for liberty and justice. Hence it was that spasmodic efforts, to that end, were made whenever urgent letters from General Schuyler, or some startling event, aroused them to action. They would then pass some strong resolves concerning the supply of men, money and materials, that were not followed by corresponding energy of action on their part. They would excite hopes and movements by promises, positive or implied, that were seldom fulfilled. They seemed to regard General Schuyler as an almost omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent mortal wielding a magician's wand, directing him to raise

troops, procure provisions, collect specie, furnish transportation, suppress the Tories, conciliate or overcome the Indians, and take cognizance of every public concern, from the Delaware to the St. Lawrence and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, without furnishing him, at any time, with adequate means for performing the stupendous task. They left the management of the Northern Department almost to his discretion, but gave him, after the fall of Montgomery, incompetent or unfriendly lieutenants, and raw and insubordinate troops to execute his commands. "*Resolved*," they would say with unanimous voice, "That General Schuyler be directed to take any further measures for supplying the army in Canada with provisions, which his prudence may suggest, in which Congress place the highest confidence."* Also, after hearing importunities for the all-important article of specie, for the support of the cause in that province, for many months, they finally "*Resolved*, That some person or persons be employed by the President, in New England, as an agent or agents, to procure, if possible, hard money to the amount of $100,000, the said agent to be directed to transmit the same to the Commissioners of Congress, in Canada."†

And when the army in the Canadian province, weak in numbers, and weaker still in consequence of sickness and want that prostrated nearly one half of it, was flying for its life before a greatly superior force of well-fed veterans from England; and when, for five months, Schuyler had urged the necessity of holding Canada, and begged for means to do so, the supreme legislature "*Resolved*, That the commanding officer in Canada be informed that Congress are fully convinced of the absolute necessity of keeping possession of that country, and they expect the forces

* Journals of Congress, ii. 174. † Ibid., ii. 175.

in that Department will contest every foot of the ground with the enemies of these colonies."* And at the very time when Schuyler was greatly distressed, because of the impossibility of procuring a supply of provisions and means for sending them forward, and was advancing large sums of money for that purpose, Congress "*Resolved*, That General Schuyler be desired to take care that the army in Canada be regularly and effectually supplied with necessaries."† This seemed almost like cruel mockery.

When the winter had passed away, the spring had far advanced, British reinforcements were in Canada or out on the ocean on their way thither, their own army in Canada shivering, starving, wasting and dying with small-pox and other diseases, and dissolving by the expiration of terms of enlistment, and their own credit in that province utterly destroyed, they were aroused by the cries of distress raised by Schuyler and their Commissioners, and again resolved to send ten thousand soldiers, well provided, into that colony, and followed it up by some corresponding action. The dread of a standing army had caused the adoption and continuance of the unwise policy of making short enlistments, and the armies were constantly dissolving and reorganizing, and were filled, much of the time, with raw and undisciplined troops.

The evil of this policy was now felt in its full force, yet Congress, instead of remedying it by a wiser course, continued the policy, and relied for success upon the plan of sending troops in the field from point to point immediately menaced, thereby often uncovering other points of equal importance, and inviting attack. In pursuance of this policy, Congress, late in March, when Washington had driven the British from Boston, ordered him to send

* Journals of Congress, ii. 179. † Ibid.

four regiments of his troops into Canada; and again, on the 23d of April, when he was guarding New York and the Hudson River, and a British fleet, with troops, might be expected at Sandy Hook any day (for thirty thousand had been provided for the campaign of 1776), Congress, without consulting him, ordered him to send six more battalions into Canada, and inquired whether he could spare more.

It was late on the night of the 25th of April when Washington received this peremptory order. He had a clear perception of the value of Canada, and acted accordingly. Six battalions, formed into a brigade—General John Sullivan, of New Hampshire, commander, with Stark and Reed of that province, and Wayne and Irvine of Pennsylvania, among his colonels—were sent up the Hudson with all possible despatch. Sullivan bore to Schuyler $300,000 in specie, and Washington ordered a supply of provisions and powder to be sent with the troops. It was the four regiments under General William Thompson, sent forward early in April, and the brigade under Sullivan, that gave Schuyler so much concern in the matter of their transportation, with supplies. To the question of Congress, concerning the sending away more troops from New York, Washington replied that it would be running too great a risk trusting that city and Hudson's River to the handful of troops that remained there. His effective force at New York was only eight thousand three hundred when the requisition was made, and only a little more than half that number remained after Sullivan's brigade had departed. All were poorly fed and worse clad, whole regiments not possessing a waistcoat between them, and but one shirt to a man. Instead of sending more men away, Washington said it was necessary to reinforce his

little army at New York, with at least ten thousand men.

General Thomas arrived at the camp, before Quebec, on the 1st of May. He found the little army there in a wretched condition. It was only nineteen hundred strong, and of that number only a thousand were fit for duty. The remainder were in hospitals, sick, chiefly with the small-pox. Of the one thousand, the time of enlistment of three hundred had expired, and they had refused to reënlist, while two hundred others had been inoculated for the small-pox and would soon be in the hospitals. Thomas's effective force, on duty, numbered only about five hundred, and these, as we have seen, were distributed at batteries so distant from each other that not more than three hundred men could be rallied in case of a sudden attack.

It was known that British reinforcements were hourly expected, for the ice was moving in the river, and Thomas made an immediate and bold attempt to take the city. He sent up from Isle Orleans a fire-ship, with the flood, on the 3d of May, to burn the shipping in the harbor, and moved troops, with scaling ladders, intending to take advantage of the confusion caused by the conflagration, to climb the walls and obtain armed possession of the town. The fire-ship failed to perform its duty, and the enterprise was abandoned. A council of war was held on the 5th, when it was determined to retreat up the river, for information had been received that fifteen British ships were then making their way up the stream. The Americans had no means for a protracted contest, for in all the magazines there were not more than one hundred and fifty pounds of powder, and provisions for only three days remained.

Early in the morning of the 6th, when Thomas was engaged in carrying the sick on board of batteaux, remov-

ing the artillery, etc., five British war-ships appeared in sight, and three of them, the *Surprise* frigate, *Isis* and *Marten*, found their way through the ice into the basin, and immediately landed their marines and part of a regiment. At near noon, Carleton, thus reinforced, sallied out of the gates with nearly a thousand men and a train of six pieces of artillery, to attack not more than two hundred and fifty Americans—all that Thomas could rally on the Plains of Abraham. This was the occasion when he "marched out of the ports St. Louis and St. Johns, to see what the mighty boasters were about." Thomas was compelled to retreat precipitately, leaving baggage, artillery, and many of the sick behind. The latter, about two hundred in number, were kindly treated, and sent home on parole. The fugitives halted at Point Deschambault, about sixty miles above Quebec. "I do not mean to reflect," Thomas wrote to Washington, from that place, "on any gentleman who has had command in this department; but, in my ideas of war, as there was nothing which promised success in the issue, it would have been highly proper to have made this move ment some weeks past."

Carleton did not follow Thomas in his retreat, but the three war-vessels did. The American camp was without cannon. Two tons of powder, forwarded by General Schuyler, had been captured by the *Surprise*, and the provisions were nearly exhausted. His troops were in no better condition than when they were at Quebec, and a council of war determined to continue the retreat up the river. Thomas, however, concluded to send forward the invalids and make a stand where he was, with five hundred men, until he should receive orders from Montreal, and learn whether he might be strengthened so as to defend his position.

The news of the arrival of British reinforcements, and the retreat of Thomas, satisfied the Commissioners that Canada must be lost. "From the present appearance of things," they wrote to Schuyler, "it is very probable we shall lie under the necessity of abandoning Canada, at least all except that part which lies on the Sorel. We may certainly keep possession of St. John's till the enemy can bring up against that post a superior force and artillery to besiege it."*

Schuyler was greatly distressed and perplexed by the news, for it plunged him into a sea of new and vexatious embarrassments. He was then working with all his might, and successfully, in pushing forward Sullivan's brigade and sending on provisions; yet he was all the while annoyed by vexatious circumstances, great and small. Among these was the enormous amount of baggage which Sullivan's troops insisted upon taking with them. Of this Schuyler complained. In a letter to Washington, written at Albany on the 11th of May, he said that Reed's regiment took eight batteaux, and that Stark's, which had been embarking their baggage "all day, with the activity of snails," would carry more. To the Commissioners in Canada, he wrote from Fort George, that Sullivan's brigade of six regiments had "three hundred wagon loads of baggage," and he could not prevail upon them to leave an ounce behind, although he urged the necessities of their famishing fellow-soldiers in Canada. At last he ordered the baggage out of the batteaux, "but," he said, "no sooner was my back turned than they took out the pork and returned their dirty trumpery, and came on with it." He was satisfied that the army would be compelled to abandon

* Autograph Letter, May 10, 1776.

Canada, and frankly gave this opinion to Washington. The chief, less acquainted with the situation there, was more hopeful.

"I am not without my fears, I confess," Washington wrote, on the 17th of May, "that the prospect we had of possessing that country, of such importance in the present controversy, is almost over, or, at least, that it will be effected with much more difficulty and effusion of blood than were necessary, had our exertions been timely applied. However, we must not despair. A manly and spirited opposition can only ensure success, and prevent the enemy from improving the advantage they have obtained. * * * * I am fully sensible that this unfortunate event has greatly deranged your schemes, and will involve you in difficulties only to be obviated by your zeal and assiduity, which I am well satisfied will not be wanting in this or any other instance, when the good of your country requires them."*

The personal and political enemies of Schuyler made these reverses in Canada and the distressing situation of affairs there, an occasion for assailing his public character. The news spread consternation all over the New England frontier, now exposed to invasion and desolation. Committees of towns and districts assembled in many places to consult upon the public welfare. As in all times of calamity, it relieves the public mind to find some individual upon whom may be laid the blame, as the cause of disaster, so now, among the New England people, whose prejudices against Schuyler had sometimes assumed the form of malignity, there was a supple willingness to hold him responsible for the impending evil. We have seen how the New England troops had harrassed him from the beginning, and almost driven him from the service. He was now stigmatized as the chief cause of the late reverses. In the face of all truth he was charged with neglect in forwarding reinforcements and supplies to the army in Canada. His generosity toward Sir John Johnson, in allowing him to remain at large after the affair in Febru-

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

ary, and his misplaced confidence in the honor of the baronet, which circumstances now made conspicuous, as we shall presently observe, were magnified into high misdemeanors; and his enemies even went so far as to charge him with positive disloyalty to the cause of his country, and a design to league himself with its foes. This charge, at first vaguely whispered rumors, took tangible shape and substance, when, late in May, a convention of the Committees of Safety and Inspection in the several towns of Berkshire County, Massachusetts, and parts adjacent, bordering on New York, with the approbation of King's District, (now Kingsbury, Washington County,) in that province, sent an address to General Washington, signed by Asa Douglas, their chairman, which cautiously embodied the several complaints against General Schuyler, and which they said, "we take to be facts, though we may be deceived as to some of them." At the same time they expressed a hope that the charges were not true, saying, "We wish not to injure the reputation and glory of General Schuyler, were it in our power; we sincerely hope his name may be handed down with immortal honor to the latest posterity, as one of the great pillars of the American cause."

This address the Committee of King's District, a settlement in which were many Scotchmen who were loyalists, was sent by express to General Washington, by Martin Beebee, their secretary, with a letter of their own, in which full credence was given to the charges against Schuyler. At the same time his enemies in that section tried to alienate from him the friendship of his most active compatriots, among whom was William Duer, a large landowner on the Upper Hudson, against whose loyalty to the Whig cause it was asserted Schuyler had made insinuations.

Resolves of other Committees along the Western New England border, expressing distrust of Schuyler, were passed, and some of these were sent to Washington and to the New York Provincial Congress, but they made not the slightest impression unfavorable to the character of the patriot in circles wherein he was known. The Provincial Congress were quick to assure Schuyler of its entire confidence; and the Committee of Berkshire, after an honest investigation, hastened to repair the mischief its too inconsiderate action may have worked, by sending a letter to the commander-in-chief, from Mark Hopkins, then secretary, on the 26th of May, in which they said: "It is with the greatest pleasure we are now able to acquaint your Excellency that the convention are satisfied that their suspicions concerning him [Schuyler] were wholly groundless."

Schuyler's heart was almost as well known to Washington as to himself, for, during all his trials in the public service, he had continually laid it open to the inspection of that magnanimous and sympathizing friend, who had also experienced his full share of similar difficulties. Nobly was that confidence repaid in kind at this time. The generous soul of the commander-in-chief flamed with indignation when these accusations against the patriot were laid before him. He instantly sent copies of the papers to Schuyler, saying:

"From these you will readily discover the insiduous and diabolical acts and schemes carrying on by the Tories and friends of Govern ment, to raise distrust, dissension and divisions among us. Having the utmost confidence in your integrity, and the most incontestible proofs of your great attachment to our common country and its inter ests, I could not but look upon the charges against you with an eye of disbelief, and sentiments of detestation and abhorrence; nor should I have troubled you with the matter, had I not been informed that copies were sent to different committees, and to Governor Trumbull, which I conceived would get abroad, and that you, should you hear of

my being furnished with them, would consider my suppressing them as an evidence of my belief, or, at best, my doubt of the charges.

"The confidence and assurance I have of the infamy and injustice of the charges against the [New York] Convention, obliged me also to lay the matter before them, lest my not doing it should be construed a distrust of them, of their zeal, and promote the views of the Tories, who, to excite disorder and confusion, judge it essential to involve those in high departments in a share in the plot, which is not unlikely to be true in some parts, as I believe our internal enemies have many projects in contemplation to subvert our liberties."*

On the day when Washington wrote to Schuyler (May 21), the latter, in a letter to the commander-in-chief, alluded to the scandalous charges, and said:

"Bennet [a courier employed by Schuyler in the secret service] informs me that a report prevails in the western part of Connecticut that I was to head some of the regiments raised in this colony, join the Tories, and fall upon the country; that the people were ordered to collect on this occasion, and that affidavits to support this report had been taken and sent to your Excellency. I hope the scoundrels may be secured, and held to public contempt. Ungrateful villains! to attempt to destroy a man's reputation who, having lighted the candle at both ends, is rapidly bringing on old age by fatigues that nothing but a wish to be instrumental in procuring liberty to my country would make me undergo."†

Although annoyed by these reports, Schuyler resolved to treat them as merely wicked rumors, until he received Washington's letter, containing copies of the charges against him. Then he wrote, saying:

"While this was only report, I treated it with contempt, without taking notice of it, but it is now become a duty I owe myself and my country to detect the scoundrels, and the only means of doing this is by requesting that an immediate inquiry may be made into the matter, when, I trust, it will evidently appear that it was a scheme more calculated to ruin me than to disunite and create jealousies in the friends to America. Your Excellency will, therefore, please to order a court of inquiry, the soonest possible, for I cannot sit easy under such an infamous imputation, as on this extensive continent numbers of the most respectable characters may not know what your Excellency and Congress do of my principles and exertions in the common cause.

"It is peculiarly hard, that at the very time that assassins and in-

* Letter to Schuyler, May 21, 1776.

† Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

cendiaries are employed to take away my life, and destroy my property, as being an active friend to my country, at the very time when I had taken measures, and given orders, some of which are actually executed, to secure the Tories and to send them down to your Excellency, a set of pretended Whigs (for such they are, who have propagated these diabolical tales) should proclaim me, through all America, a traitor to my country."*

Smarting under the wrongs inflicted by these slanders, Schuyler, in a few words, laid his grievances before the Continental Congress incidentally, in a letter, on the 31st of May. "I have requested my general," he said, "for an inquiry to be made into my conduct. His soul is above the meanness of suspicion, for his feelings are the most delicate; and although his opinion does me the most ample justice, yet it is a most natural wish that my innocence should be made as public as the charge against me, which has been industriously propagated, and ere this has probably reached every quarter of that country to the preservation of which my all is devoted." Here the matter rested. Washington expressed his willingness to gratify the General by appointing a court of inquiry, but, he said, the "charges appeared so uncertain, vague and incredible that there is nothing to found proceedings on, were there the most distant necessity for the scrutiny."

We have alluded to Schuyler's misplaced confidence in the honor of Sir John Johnson. This was made manifest to him by the most particular information communicated early in May, and he took efficient measures, instantly, to

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books. In a subsequent letter to Washington, Schuyler wrote: "I am informed by persons of good credit, that about one hundred persons, living in what is commonly called the New Hampshire Grants, have had a design to seize me as a Tory, and perhaps still have." At about the same time a copy of an affidavit was sent to Schuyler, in which the deponent said he had heard, at the house of Dr. Williams, in the present Washington County, a declaration that a guard of men had "gone in quest of General Schuyler, to take him for enlisting men for the King."

avert the mischief that Sir John's perfidy might work. He had assurances that the baronet's cousin and brother-in-law, Sir Guy Johnson, with the Butlers and Brant, had been holding councils with the Indians, and intended to reënter the valley with a British and savage force.* He was also well assured that the baronet was in correspondence with these enemies of the cause, and was not only inciting the Indians to make war, but was preparing for hostile movements with the tory Highlanders under his influence. He, therefore, ordered General Sullivan, who was moving with his brigade toward Lake George from Albany, to detach Colonel Elias Dayton, of New Jersey, one of the most active and intelligent officers in the service, with three hundred of the best men in his regiment, and furnish them with supplies for six days and transportation for them, for the purpose of arresting the perfidious baronet and taking him a prisoner to Albany.

This service would require great caution, circumspection and judgment on the part of all concerned in the movement, for Sir John had vigilant friends in Albany who kept him constantly informed concerning everything that pertained to his interest, and it was necessary to thoroughly mask the real business of the troops marching into Tryon County. Happily an excellent pretext existed. The chief of the clan McDonald, of Johnson's Highlanders, had asked Congress to remove his associates and their families from that region, and subsist them. A compliance with that request was now the pretext, and on the 13th of May General Schuyler wrote to the baronet, saying:

"The elder Mr. McDonald, as chief of that part of the clan of his name, now in Tryon County, has applied to Congress, that these peo-

* See chapter xx. vol. i.

ple, with their families, may be moved from thence and subsisted, you will, therefore, please to advise them to prepare, and to be ready to come to Johnstown whenever the troops shall arrive there, who are ordered to conduct them to Albany, that they may not experience any insult that might be offered by intemperate people."

This letter Sullivan sent to Johnson by express, and, on the following day Schuyler gave Colonel Dayton explicit instructions, and with them two letters for delivery, one for Sir John and the other for Lady Johnson.* The first was to tell the baronet why he was arrested, and that all care should be taken for his personal comfort while a prisoner, and the second was to assure Lady Johnson that her husband should be kindly treated, and that she might follow him if she chose, or remain at Johnson Hall, under guard, to prevent any insult being offered to herself or family. The general also wrote to Volkert P. Douw, of the Indian Commission, requesting him to assure the Mohawks that the troops penetrating their country had no designs hostile to them. †

Schuyler instructed Colonel Dayton to march directly to Johnstown, make his quarters at the tavern of Gilbert Tice, ‡ a bitter Tory, summon the Highlanders to appear there, and send their baggage, their infirm, women and

* She was Miss Polly Watts, daughter of John Watts, of his Majesty's council. They were married on the 29th of June, 1773.

† Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

‡ Tice had gone into active service with Guy Johnson, was wounded in Canada, and late in September, 1775, wrote to his wife from Montreal, that he was out of danger. His spouse, who was now compelled to entertain at her inn, Colonel Dayton and his staff, and who professed to be a good Whig, was as hearty a Tory as her husband. In her reply to his letter from Montreal, she wrote: "I am now in good health, and no rebel shall ever have the pleasure of knowing, by my outward behavior, my inward concerns. May the all-powerful Jehovah cover the head of my dearest in the day of battle, and send you soon home, victorious, to the longing arms of your longing turtle-dove; so wishes, so prayeth, my dearest, your ever loving wife, while CHRISTINA TICE.—Autograph Letter, Oct. 28, 1776

children, in wagons, to Albany. This done, he was to inform Sir John that he had a letter from General Schuyler to him, which the Colonel was ordered to deliver in person, and beg his attendance to receive it; and that if he should come, so soon as the baronet should read the letter, the Colonel was to make him a close prisoner, go with him to his house, search it and seize his papers, in the presence of William Duer who was to accompany him; make a list of all pertaining to the great controversy and give copies to Sir John, carefully shield his person from harm and insult and his property from plunder, and take him under a strong guard to Albany.

The wily baronet was not to be caught in the snare laid for him by Schuyler. He wrote to the General that McDonald had no authority to make the request of Congress; that the Highlanders were his tenants and his debtors, and begged that no troops should be sent for their removal, as none of the families wished to leave—not even Mrs. McDonald herself. And when Dayton arrived, on Sunday evening, and sent the message to Johnson Hall, for Sir John to come to him and receive a letter from General Schuyler, the bearer of it, Major Barber, was informed by Lady Johnson that her husband had the General's first letter, had assembled the Highlanders, who had determined not to surrender themselves, and that the baronet had retired with his people to the woods who were fully prepared to confront all pursuers. On receiving this information, Colonel Dayton sent Major Barber back with a note to Lady Johnson, apprising her of his intention to take possession of and search Johnson Hall, and requesting her to deliver up the keys. This she consented to do; when Dayton waited upon her, received the keys and a considerable quantity of papers, and after searching every

part of the house, and carrying out his general's instructions concerning letters and papers, he placed a strong guard around the hall, so as to cut off all communication between its inmates and the fugitive baronet in the forest. Lady Johnson assured the Colonel that her husband was on his way through the wilderness to Niagara, and with a defiant air she remarked that his enemies would soon hear where he was. Dayton proposed to escort Lady Johnson to Albany, where she had many friends, and be spared the pain of being under a military guard, but she did not incline to go.

When all this was reported to General Schuyler, he sent orders to Colonel Dayton to immediately remove all the families of the fugitive Highlanders to Albany, and also Lady Johnson, without delay, "in the most easy and commodious manner to her." The declarations of Lady Johnson, he said, "that Sir John is gone to Niagara, and that we shall soon hear where he is, induce me to believe that he will be joined by a party from Niagara, perhaps at Oswego, under Major Hamilton, of which I had a hint in a letter from Canada which arrived about twelve last night." He directed Dayton to post his troops at some advantageous point on the Mohawk River, and to remain there until further orders, so as to secure that part of the country and awe the enemy. "It may be necessary," he said, "to remove all the Tories out of Tryon County. * * * Should Sir John fall into your hands, you will send him down under such a guard as that there may be no danger of a rescue."*

Lady Johnson was conveyed to Albany, where she was treated with all the delicacy due to her sex, and where she was retained for some time as a sort of hostage to secure

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

the peaceable conduct of her husband. This was in accordance with the advice of Schuyler. Of this detention she complained to General Washington, who left the whole matter in the hands of General Schuyler and the Albany Committee.

Sir John and his followers did not go to Niagara, nor to Oswego, but started for the St. Lawrence, through the woods, by way of the Sacandaga River, with the hope that the British had, or speedily would have, possession of the posts on Lake Champlain. But Sir John thought it prudent to keep deeper in the wilderness, and they made their way through the dark forests around the head waters of the eastern branch of the Hudson River, in the neighborhood of the Adirondack Mountains. They suffered intensely, and would have perished had it not been in summer time. So short was the time for their preparations for flight that they hurried away with insufficient food and clothing. Hungry, half-naked, foot-sore and despondding, they made their weary way through mountain passes, over oozy swamps and across rapid rivers during nineteen days, leaving several of their number exhausted in the wilderness, to be picked up by Indians sent out for the purpose. In a most wretched plight they reached the St. Lawrence, some distance above Montreal. Sir John was at once commissioned a colonel in the British service. He raised two battalions—a total of a thousand men—composed of his immediate followers and other American Loyalists who followed his example in deserting their country, and these formed that active and formidable corps known in the frontier warfare of that period, in Northern and Central New York, as the "Royal Greens."

CHAPTER IV.

Following close upon the news of the flight of the Americans from Quebec, came intelligence of a serious disaster at the Cedars Rapids, forty-five miles above Montreal, where, as we have seen, Arnold had posted Colonel Bedel, with two hundred of his New Hampshire regiment, at a little fort there. That vigilant and veteran officer, who had performed long and signal service in the Provincial army before the Revolution, was charged, also, with the duty of keeping the Caughnawaga Indians (residing about twelve miles above Montreal) and others in a state of neutrality. Informed that they were much excited, he went down to hold a conference with them, leaving Major Butterfield in temporary command at the Cedars. It was with much difficulty that he persuaded the Caughnawagas to remain neutral, for they had heard of the retreat from Quebec, and had been told that Captain Forster was coming from Detroit with a part of a British regiment and a large number of Canadians and Indians, and they were disposed to join him.

While Bedel was yet in conference at Caughnawaga, word came to him that Forster, with regulars, Canadians and Indians, had come down from Fort Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburg) and were menacing his command. He was told that he could return to his post almost as quickly by way of Montreal as by the route he had come down, so he hastened to that city for the purpose of soliciting from

Arnold a reinforcement for the Cedars. One hundred and forty men were immediately detached for that service, under Major Sherburne of Rhode Island. Bedel accompanied him, although then suffering from small-pox in its earlier stage. He was so ill when they arrived at Lachine that he could go no further. Sherburne was detained by unforeseen obstacles, and did not arrive near the menaced post until the 20th of May.

Meanwhile Forster, with forty regulars, one hundred Canadians, and full five hundred Indians under the Mohawk chief Brant, had appeared before the fort, demanded its surrender, and threatened the garrison with massacre by the savages if resistance should be made. This threat intimidated Major Butterfield, who, contrary to the wishes of his officers and men, surrendered all without fighting. This was unknown to Sherburne, who, the next day, after leaving forty men as a guard on the shore of Lake St. Louis, pressed on toward the Cedars with one hundred men. At five o'clock in the evening, when he was within five miles of the post, Forster and his whole force, lying in ambush, burst suddenly upon Sherburne. A severe battle ensued which lasted more than an hour, when the Indians, in number four times that of the republicans, encircled the little band, and, at a given signal by Brant, rushed forward and disarmed them. Furious because of the resistance made and its results, the savages butchered about twenty of Sherburne's men (and would have murdered them all had not Brant restrained them), and stripped the remainder and drove them in triumph to the fort. The loss of the Americans, in the action and by murder, was fifty-eight; the enemy lost twenty-two—among them a Seneca chief, whose death it was that so exasperated them.

When Arnold heard of this disaster, he marched with

about eight hundred men against the enemy, then at Vaudreuil, for the twofold purpose of chastising them and releasing the American prisoners. On the afternoon of the 21st he arrived at St. Anne's, and saw the batteaux of Forster taking prisoners from an island to the southern shore of the St. Lawrence. At about the same time a party of Caughnawaga Indians whom he had sent to demand a surrender of the prisoners, or to convey a threat of extermination if any more Americans should be murdered, returned with an answer of defiance. The Indians sent Arnold word that if he should cross the river and land for the purpose of rescuing the prisoners, they would put them all to death. Unmindful of their threats, Arnold pursued, and after a slight skirmish returned to St. Anne's and called a council of war. There he received a flag from Forster, accompanied by Sherburne, with an assurance that if Arnold persisted in attacking him he could not restrain the Indians from executing their threat. He also demanded of Arnold an agreement to a proposed cartel that Sherburne had been compelled to sign, which provided for an exchange of prisoners, with the condition that the Americans should immediately return to their homes and not again take up arms, and that four American captains should go to Quebec as hostages until the exchange should be effected. Sherburne assured Arnold that the Indians had already prepared for the threatened massacre, and that the prisoners were in the greatest peril. Considerations of humanity caused Arnold to yield to these demands, excepting to the condition concerning the taking up of arms again. This point Forster waived, and the agreement was signed. That leader's conduct was considered so disgraceful, in forcing his opponents into an agreement by holding the hatchets of the Indians over

their heads, that Congress refused to ratify it, and the British government did not insist upon it. Prisoners and hostages were finally released.

The conduct of Butterfield was severely condemned, and Bedel, innocent of all blame, was involved in the disgrace. Arnold arrested him on the charge of quitting his post at the Cedars, contrary to orders. On this charge he was tried by a court-martial, at Ticonderoga, in July, and, on the evidence of Arnold alone, he was convicted, cashiered and dismissed the service. General Gates, then in command there, sharing the indignation which then filled the country because of the affair at the Cedars, approved the sentence, and, in his letter to Congress transmitting it, he suggested that a little more severity would have been well. The proceedings of the court and Bedel's defence were referred to the newly-created Board of War, after the excitements and resentments because of the reverses in Canada had cooled, when the sentence was reversed, Colonel Bedel was honorably acquitted, and he was restored to his rank by a re-commission from the Continental Congress. He was afterward employed by General Schuyler (among whose papers I nowhere find evidence that he shared in the censure of Colonel Bedel) in some of the most delicate and responsible positions in connection with the Indians; also by General Gates, who countersigned his new commission, and was satisfied that he had suffered wrong. I have noticed this matter so particularly in order to do justice to a brave patriot, whose character, like that of General Schuyler and nearly every other true man in public life then, has been assailed, and which has, for well nigh a century, borne the stain of cowardice. All historians of the events here recorded, misled and uninformed, have branded him as a coward.

There exists ample documentary evidence, besides the fair inferences to be drawn from the fact of his restoration to rank and the confidence of the leading characters of his times, to prove that the arrest of Colonel Bedel and the sentence of the court that tried him, were cruel wrongs. He was evidently one of the many victims of the jealousy, mendacity, vanity, egotism or malignity of Arnold, who, at that very time, was endeavoring to lower, in the esteem of their superiors in rank, such officers as Colonel Hazen and Lieutenant-Colonel Antill, by mean and malicious insinuations against their faithfulness to the cause.

At the opening of June all hopes for holding Canada vanished from the minds of experienced men. Several thousand British troops had arrived at Quebec under General John Burgoyne, and full four thousand German troops, under General the Baron Frederic Adolphus Von Riedesel, were following. The little force of patriots at Deschambault had continued their retreat up the river to the mouth of the Sorel, the outlet of Lake Champlain, and there joined the detachment of troops under General Thompson which Washington had first sent from New York. General Thomas, who had forbidden further inoculation for the small-pox because it put so many of his troops in the hospitals, had caught the infection, been carried to Chamblée, and there died on the 2d of June. Wooster, in whom the Commissioners had no confidence as a commander, because of his wretched mismanagement, had been recalled from Canada, and General John Sullivan, who had lately arrived with his brigade, succeeded Thomas in the command in that province. Confusion and disorder almost everywhere prevailed. Want and lack of discipline had demoralized nearly the whole army, while sickness was busy with its fearful work. "The small-pox,"

Arnold wrote to Schuyler, "has broke and divided the army in such a manner, that it is almost ruined. Our want of almost every necessity for the army, and repeated misfortunes and losses, have greatly dispirited the troops. Our enemies are daily increasing and our friends are deserting us. Under these discouragements and obstacles, with a powerful army against us, and wanting in no one article for carrying on their operations, it will be a miracle if we keep the country. My only expectation is to secure our retreat to St. Johns, or the *Isle aux Noix*, where it will doubtless be thought necessary to make a stand."* On the same day Washington wrote to Schuyler from New York: "The most vigorous exertions will be necessary to retrieve our circumstances there, and I hope you will strain every nerve for that purpose. Unless it can now be done, Canada will be lost forever." To which Schuyler, more hopeful than all, replied: "I assure you, my dear sir, that I do all in my power to forward and arrange matters. Such a variety of business comes upon me that I hardly know which to take in hand first. A steady perseverance will, however, I hope, carry me through, and if I can find time, I will repair to Canada, though I hope and believe that General Sullivan will put our affairs in good order, seconded by Generals Arnold and Thompson, who are indefatigable."† Sullivan, brave, sanguine, but as yet inexperienced, had written cheerily when he took command at the Sorel, on the 5th of June: "In a few days I can reduce the army to order and put a new face upon our affairs here."

Schuyler had, indeed, a "great variety of business," and could not well go into Canada. He was ably assisted,

* Autograph Letter, June 7, 1776.

† Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

however, by Richard Varick (afterward mayor of the city of New York), a captain in McDougal's regiment, and then the General's aid-de-camp and secretary, who remained in Albany, and to whom Schuyler delegated large powers to act in his absence.* Also by Walter Livingston, the Deputy Quartermaster-General, whose head-quarters were in Albany, and the energetic Colonel Peter Gansevoort, at Fort George. But his attention was continually directed to various points within his command, and he gave his personal attention at several of these. He had just hastened from Fort George to Albany, because of alarming letters concerning the attitude of the Indians in Western New York; and Congress had just made another spasmodic movement in relation to Canada. At the moment when Arnold was contemplating the best means for securing a retreat for the little army left in his charge on the death of Thomas, and the Commissioners, having given up all as lost, were packing their trunks for a homeward journey, Congress resolved to employ six thousand militia "to reinforce the army in Canada, and to keep up the communication with that province," and called upon Massachusetts to furnish one-half the number, Connecticut one-quarter, and New Hampshire and New York seven hundred and fifty each.† They also resolved to employ two thousand Indians as soldiers.

* "All letters that you may receive from Congress, General Washington, any of the commanders-in-chief of any colony, or any military officer, you are to open, and if they contain any orders or matters respecting affairs at Albany, or to the northward, you will send extracts to the persons who should be advised thereof, observing that you do it by my orders. Any letters from officers in the Northern Department you will also open, and comply with any requisitions you may judge that I would accede to."—*Autograph Letter of General Schuyler to Captain Richard Varick.*

† Journals of Congress, ii. 187.

Washington transmitted the last resolution to Schuyler, on whom would devolve the task of mustering the savages into service; and evidently yet averse to employing them, notwithstanding they were becoming powerful auxiliaries of the enemy, he expressed a hope that no more would be so embodied than were necessary. Schuyler, in reply, significantly asked where the Indians were to be found, and said: "So far from being able to procure two thousand to join us, I shall be extremely happy if we can prevent them from acting against us; and I believe nothing will do it but the spirited measures I have proposed to Congress." Those measures were to hold a conference with the Six Nations at the German Flats; demand an explicit declaration from them as to who were friends and who were enemies to the patriot cause; give them to understand that the latter should feel the heavy hand of power, and that the troops of Congress would immediately take post at Fort Stanwix (now Rome) and build fortifications there—a necessary measure of defence in the event of the British repossessing Canada. Washington perceived the danger, and the wisdom of Schuyler's plan, and immediately directed him and his associate Commissioners of Indian affairs to hold the proposed conference with the Six Nations, without waiting for further orders from Congress. A week later that body gave him similar directions, and expressed their approval of his proposition to take post at Fort Stanwix, and fortify it. The Commissioners appointed the 15th of July as the time for the conference, and sent Mr. Deane to notify the Six Nations.

General Sullivan, being the senior officer in Canada after the death of Thomas, took the command of the army in that province, and advanced with his brigade to the

mouth of the Sorel, on the 5th of June, where he was greeted with great joy by the inhabitants, who, in that particular region, were mostly friendly to the Americans, and consequently feared the resentment of the British if they should repossess the country. He found General Thompson there in temporary command of the army, with only two hundred men, and busily employed in sending off the sick and heavy baggage to be prepared for a retreat. Thompson had been informed at Chamblée that a British force was ascending the St. Lawrence, and that the veteran Colonel McLean had advanced, with about eight hundred regulars and Canadians, as far as the Three Rivers. He hastened to the Sorel and despatched from that place Colonel St. Clair, with nearly seven hundred Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops, with orders to attack that British advanced force if there should seem to be a chance for success. At the same time he wrote to Arnold, at Montreal, to send three hundred Pennsylvanians down to the Sorel from that post; also to Baron de Woedtke, at St. John's, to forward the first regiment that might arrive there.* Arnold paid no attention to the order. Sullivan's arrival was, therefore, timely. "It was really affecting," he wrote to Washington, "to see the banks of the Sorel lined with men, women and children, leaping and clapping their hands with joy to see me arrive."

Contrary to the opinions of others, the sanguine Sullivan believed he could regain the eligible post of Des-

* Autograph Letter of General Thompson, June 3, 1776. "My greatest distress," he said in the same letter to General Schuyler, "is on account of the unhappy situation of the Canadians, who have taken an active part with us. I know not whether I shall long be able to protect them from the vengeance of General Carleton, with which they are threatened. They apprehend the worst and are truly objects of compassion."

chambault, and make it impregnable. He also believed that he could regain all that others had lost. He proceeded to complete the fortifications at the Sorel, and sent General Thompson, with detachments under Colonels Wayne and Irvine, to overtake St. Clair and join him in the attack at Three Rivers. He wrote a most hopeful letter to General Washington, telling him that affairs had taken a strange turn since his recent arrival in the province, and that the Canadians were flocking by hundreds to take part with the Americans. "The only reason of their disaffection," he wrote, "was because our exertions were so feeble that they doubted much of our success, and even our ability to protect them. * * * If General Thompson succeeds at Three Rivers, I will soon remove the [British] ships below Richelieu Falls, and after that approach toward Quebec as fast as possible; and according to present appearance of affairs, we may exceed in number the Hanoverians, et cetera, which we are threatened with. I have no doubt of the general attachment of the Canadians, though I suppose some unprincipled wretches among them will always appear against us; but a vast majority will be for us, and, perhaps, as many, according to their numbers, are really in our favor as in some other colonies upon the continent. Many of them are with General Thompson in this expedition, and great numbers are here, ready equipped, waiting my orders."

Sullivan's letters were the first hopeful ones that Washington and Schuyler had lately received from Canada. They were both acquainted with his temperament, and made many grains of allowance for his enthusiasm, yet they had confidence in his energy, and were gratified at his words of cheer; and they indulged some hope that his expectations might, in a degree, be fulfilled. "Before

your letter came to hand," Washington wrote, "I had almost dreaded to hear from Canada, as my advices seemed to promise nothing favorable, but rather further misfortunes. But I now hope that our affairs, from the confused, distracted, and almost forlorn state in which you found them, will emerge and assume an aspect of order and success."

Schuyler wrote to Sullivan on the 13th of June, acknowledging the receipt of his cheering letters, and saying: "They came in a lucky moment to relieve us from the anxiety we have been thrown into by a letter from General Arnold of the same date (June 6), received two hours before, and which I had just inclosed in one of mine to General Washington, and was on the point of sending off by express, when your comforting letter came to hand. I am extremely happy to find that the chaos and confusion which has reigned so triumphant in our army, to the great disgrace of our arms, are on the point of being expelled, and that good order, with all its beauties and train of never-failing good consequences, is on the point of being established. We already owe you much, my dear general, and hope our debt will daily increase."*

Ignorant of the enemies' force then in Canada, and moving up the St. Lawrence by land and water, in divisions, horse, foot, and artillery, Sullivan's despatches continued to glow with the same encouraging language for a few days longer. He was not, at first, aware that full

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books. Washington wrote to Schuyler on the 16th of June: "The intelligence contained in General Sullivan's letter is extremely pleasing, and I sincerely wish his most sanguine hopes may be more than answered. If the affection of the Canadians can be engaged, and he seems to have no doubt of it, it will be of much importance, and probably be the means of our retrieving our misfortunes in that quarter."

thirteen thousand troops were then between his little handful of men, sent to attack the advanced guard at Three Rivers, and coveted Quebec. Several regiments had lately arrived from Ireland, one from England, one from Halifax sent by General Howe after his flight from Boston, and a body of German troops under General Riedesel. A greater portion of them were now moving up the St. Lawrence, upon its bosom or along its shores, led by such officers as Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Brigadier-Generals Riedesel, Phillips and Frazer, whose names afterwards became familiar to the Americans. Carleton was also among the military leaders, and took the occasion to awe the Canadians by very harsh treatment of those who had actively helped the Americans.

Sullivan was so certain of success, that on the 8th, after receiving a despatch from Thompson, saying he had made the attack at Three Rivers at dawn that morning, according to orders, he began a letter to Washington, saying that everything was going on to his satisfaction. "At daylight a heavy cannonading began and lasted until twelve o'clock. It is now near one P. M.; the firing has ceased, except some irregular firing with cannon, at a considerable distance of time, one from the other. At eight o'clock a very heavy firing of small-arms was heard even here, at the distance of forty-five miles. * * * I am almost certain that victory has declared in our favor, as the irregular firing of the cannon, for such a length of time after the small-arms ceased, shows that our men are in possession of the ground." He complained that he could not, as he wished to, "immediately set off to join General Thompson, with De Haas's detachment;" but Arnold, contrary to repeated orders, would not send them to the Sorel, but had ordered them to Chamblée, and had actually abandoned

Montreal and gone towards the latter post with all his force.

The day wore away, and Sullivan evidently began to suspect that there might have been a defeat of his troops instead of a victory for them. He had kept his letter open. "I am anxious to know the event," he continued, "which God grant may be fortunate. However, if our party have been, or should be, defeated, I am determined not to leave Canada, but to make vigilance and industry supply the want of numbers. I am determined to fortify and secure the most important posts and hold them as long as one stone is left upon another."

Alas! the hopes of Sullivan and the expectations raised by his sanguine letters were doomed to bitter disappointment. His troops had suffered a terrible defeat at Three Rivers. At one o'clock in the morning of the 7th, General Thompson and his troops overtook St. Clair's party on the Nicolet, and during that day they all lay in the woods. At dusk they crossed the St. Lawrence, intending to surprise the enemy in their camp at Three Rivers, whom they supposed not to exceed four hundred men. But General Frazer was there with a considerable force, and twenty-five transports filled with troops, which had passed Quebec without landing, had just arrived. These were landing with field-pieces. A Canadian peasant promptly informed Frazer of the approach of the Americans, and the general made immediate dispositions to surround and capture the whole party. At dawn, while Thompson and his force were marching under the bank of the river, they were unexpectedly cannonaded from the ships. The Americans pressed forward through a wooded swamp, and mire knee deep, and after a weary struggle in the slough for four hours, they gained a piece of firm

ground, where Wayne formed his detachment, and attacked and repulsed an advanced party. With great gallantry Thompson's whole force then pressed forward and assailed a breastwork that covered the main body of the British, who were three for one of the Americans in number. The latter were soon compelled to retire. Wayne, with five officers and twenty men, covered the retreat by keeping up a fire for an hour longer, at the edge of a wood which concealed the smallness of the number of his companions. At length Wayne and his compatriots were compelled to fly. Thompson and Irvine, who became separated from the rest, were betrayed by the Canadians, and with about one hundred and fifty of their party were made prisoners. The remainder escaped in consequence, as the British alleged, of blunders and want of alertness on the part of Carleton. Without refreshment of any kind they wandered about in the woods for twenty-four hours, when they found their boats and returned to the Sorel, leaving over two hundred of their companions behind, dead, wounded, missing, and prisoners.

The returned fugitives gave General Sullivan an explanation of the firing on the morning of the attack quite different from his own theory expressed in his letter. That letter he kept open until the 12th, when he finished it with an account of the affair at Three Rivers. "This, my dear general," he said, "is a statement of this unfortunate enterprise. What you will hear next I cannot say. I am every moment informed of the vast number of the enemy which have arrived. * * * I have here only two thousand five hundred and thirty-three, rank and file. Most of the officers seem discouraged, and, of course, their men. I am employed, day and night, in fortifying and securing my camp, and am determined to hold it as long as a person will stick by me."

But the pluck of the general could not resist the force of adverse circumstances. His officers were nearly unanimous in opinion that by a retreat alone could the little broken and wasted army in Canada be saved from total destruction. Arnold had already acted upon such belief without waiting for orders, and had fled from Montreal just in time to escape a strong detachment of the enemy sent up from Three Rivers by Burgoyne.

On the 14th a British fleet under full sail was seen approaching the Sorel. Sullivan immediately broke up his camp and, only an hour before the arrival of the vessels, commenced a retreat towards Chamblée, taking with him every article, even to a spade.* His only losses in the retreat were nine batteaux, left by a guard who fled by land. It was a masterly movement under the circumstances. He was closely followed up the Sorel by Burgoyne, with a heavy force, but eluded him.

Near Chamblée, Sullivan was joined by Arnold and his retreating column, carrying with them parcels suitable for the use of the army, which he had seized at Montreal. He, too, had been closely followed, and the pursuers would also soon join their forces. Chamblée being untenable, the retreat was continued to St. John's. The batteaux, ordnance (except three old and very heavy pieces), arms, baggage, and supplies were taken above the rapids. The gondolas and other vessels below the rapids, and all the woodwork of the fort were destroyed by fire; and all the bridges were torn up behind the fugitives in their rapid march.

At St. John's another council of war was held, when it was unanimously agreed that to attempt to hold that place

* Autograph Letter of General Sullivan to General Schuyler, June 19, 1776.

would inevitably expose the whole army to destruction, because its communication might easily be cut off. To that council Sullivan read the resolves of Congress to send six thousand troops to reinforce the army in Canada. It was the opinion of the council that, in the then state of supplies and unhealthy condition of the troops, such reinforcement would weaken rather than strengthen the cause. It was resolved, after due deliberation, to continue the retreat to Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and to fortify that post, and there build vessels to secure the navigation of the lake. At the close of the council, the whole army concentrated at St. John's moved southward to Isle aux Noix. Farther than that Sullivan did not feel authorized to go without instructions from Generals Washington or Schuyler. The pursuit was now very languid; and from that island Sullivan wrote to Schuyler, giving him a detailed account of the events here recorded, and requesting him to send copies of his letter to Washington and to Congress.

"I send on the sick," Sullivan wrote, "the looks and numbers of which will present you with the most dismal spectacle ever furnished from one army in this quarter of the globe. I have sent on General Arnold to give directions at Crown Point and receive your orders. The men who are fit for duty I shall retain here ready to execute any orders you will please to communicate. Thus, dear general, I have given you an account of my unfortunate campaign, claiming no merit except in making a safe and regular retreat. Although driven to it by inevitable necessity (as the grand post was lost before my arrival, and put beyond my power to regain), and although it was before an army much more powerful than mine, yet I am sufficiently mortified, and sincerely wish I had never seen this fatal country, unless I had arrived in season to have done some good to my country and answered the expectations of Congress."*

To Washington he wrote: "I am extremely sorry it was not in my power to fulfil your Excellency's wishes."

* Autograph Letter to General Schuyler, June 19, 1776.

After stating the causes of failure, he added: "I think we shall secure all the public stores and baggage of the army, and secure our retreat with very little loss. Whether we shall have well men enough to carry them on I much doubt, if we don't remove quickly; unless Heaven is pleased to restore health to this wretched army, now, perhaps, the most pitiful one that ever was found."

Sullivan's account of that army was a most painful one. When he first arrived at Sorel, he wrote:

"It is a serious truth that our army is extremely weak. Colonel Greaton is with me, without a single man—all under inoculation; Colonel Bond, with all his regiment, in the same situation; Colonel Patterson has six only; Colonel Stark about forty; Colonel Reed's and Colonel Poor's nearly in the same situation."

The sickness increased and whole regiments were disabled afterwards. Three weeks later, writing from Isle aux Noix, he said:

"Since I made the general returns, day before yesterday, I suppose a quarter part have been taken down with the camp disorder. This, however incredible it may seem, is a real fact. For instance, Colonel Wayne had sixty, out of one hundred and thirty-five, taken down since. Colonel De Haas and all his field officers, with a number of his men, are since taken down. This seems to run through the whole, no corps being exempt from it. I am shocked to relate, but much more to see, this dreadful havoc among the troops."

Isle aux Noix was so low and unhealthy that, after sending away the sick, Sullivan moved forward and encamped on Isle la Motte. The voyage to Crown Point was a dreadful one for the poor invalids. They were conveyed in leaky boats, without awnings, and exposed to drenching rain and hot sun. Their only food was raw pork and hard bread, and unbaked flour. "At the sight of so much privation and distress," Dr. Samuel Stringer, the medical director of the Northern Department, who was with them, wrote, "I wept till I had no more power

to weep." And when, early in July, all the fragments of that army were gathered at Crown Point, to which Schuyler had ordered them, the scene of distress was so appalling that it produced almost despair in officers and men. Of the five thousand troops, poorly clad, sheltered, and fed, at that post, full one-half were sick. The northern army had lost by death and desertion, during two months, more than five thousand men.

So ended in disaster that remarkable invasion. It appears as one of the boldest ever conceived, when the circumstances are considered; and the incidents of its execution are among the most startling and romantic in the annals of war. And those annals may be searched in vain for a parallel to the amazing efforts of its commander-in-chief to accomplish the object. Had official coöperation fully responded to his own labors, the task might have been accomplished before the close of 1775. Upon a monument commemorative of that invasion might be justly inscribed—FAILED BECAUSE OF NEGLECT.

A new and healthier state of things now began to appear. The reverses in Canada, early in May, caused Washington to be summoned to Philadelphia to confer with Congress about future military operations. He had already sent to them Horatio Gates, the Adjutant-general of the army, to give them the advantage of his military knowledge and experience, but they more desired a personal conference with the commander-in-chief. He arrived in Philadelphia on the 23d of May, when Congress appointed a committee to confer with him, Gates, and Thomas Mifflin, a Quaker, who had just been commissioned a brigadier in the Continental army. They were to consider "the most speedy and effectual means for supporting the American cause in Canada."

Washington's influence at that conference had a most salutary effect. He furnished Congress with that "military electricity" which General Lee said they lacked. The deliberations of the committee took a wider range than the resolution creating it contemplated. They considered the conduct of the war in all its bearings. Washington impressed upon them the necessity of recognizing the undoubted fact that Great Britain would not offer any terms of reconciliation which the colonies would now accept, and that the quarrel must be settled by the arbitrament of the sword. He persuaded Congress to enlist soldiers for three years instead of a few months or one year, and to offer bounties for new recruits; and he suggested the necessity of delegating large powers to a commission that should have exclusive supervision over military affairs and operations. This led to the important measure of establishing a Board of War, on the 12th of June, composed of John Adams, Benjamin Harrison, Roger Sherman, James Wilson, and Edward Rutledge; Richard Peters was appointed their Secretary. At that time the revealed scheme of the British ministers for the seizure of the country along the line of the Hudson River and Lake Champlain was considered, and plans for the campaign in Canada, and for fortifying New York and the Hudson River, were matured.

On the 17th of May Congress resolved that an experienced general be immediately sent into Canada, to whom large powers were given, such as appointing some of the most important officers, filling up vacancies in the army in Canada, and suspending army officers there till the pleasure of Congress should be known. At the same time, without giving Washington the privilege, which common courtesy entitled him to, of nominating such commander, Con-

gress peremptorily directed him to send General Gates into Canada, to take command of the forces there.

Gates was the special favorite of John Adams, the chairman of the newly-appointed Board of War, and of other New England delegates, who then formed a powerful faction in Congress; and this appointment, following close upon the promotion of Gates to the rank of Major-general, was intended, as subsequent events revealed, to be a step preliminary to his further promotion to commander-in-chief of the Northern Department, in place of General Schuyler. The investing him with such large and independent powers, when he was to be only the commander of that portion of the Northern Army which was in Canada, subject as it had been under Wooster, Thomas and Sullivan to the control of Schuyler as chief, gave reason for the suspicion which the patriot's friends in Congress at once entertained, that the New England delegates intended to have the Northern Army entirely under the control of New England influence, in the person of General Gates.

The new appointment naturally gave umbrage to Sullivan, who aspired to the command of the army in Canada. He had ranked Gates as brigadier, and felt aggrieved by what seemed to be a reflection upon his military character. "I should not have the least objection," he wrote to Schuyler, "to being commanded by General Gates—I have no personal objections to him—and would willingly have served under him, had he, in the first instance, held a commission superior to the one Congress was pleased to honor me with. But this not being the case, and the procedure so strong an implication against my conduct, I must beg leave to quit this department with my family and baggage, as I cannot, with honor, act in future, and shall, as soon as

possible, repair to Congress, and petition for leave to resign my commission."*

General Schuyler, then at Crown Point, gave Sullivan permission to repair to the head-quarters of Washington, at New York.† Sullivan took a formal leave of his officers on the 12th of July, when they presented to him a most gratifying address, in which his energy, skill, watchfulness and humanity were set forth with the declaration: "It is to you we owe our safety thus far." It was signed by twenty-seven officers, among whom were the names of Hazen, Stark, Wayne, Antill, Poor, St. Clair, and others who appear conspicuous in the annals of that war.

Schuyler was informed of the appointment of Gates on the 25th of June, the day after the arrival of Arnold at Albany with the sad news of the retreat from Canada. Unsuspicious of the designs of Gates and his friends, Schuyler was prepared to give him a cordial welcome to his Department. He immediately wrote to him, mentioning the fact that the army had left Canada, and urging him to hasten forward with all possible speed, "that we may advise together," he said, "on the most eligible methods

* Autograph Letter, Crown Point, July 6, 1776.

† In his letter of permission, Schuyler said: "The merits of the reasons which induce you to ask leave of absence from the army, I would not, by any means, wish to enter into. It is, however, a justice I owe you, to declare that your conduct, since the command of the army in Canada devolved upon you, has been perfectly agreeable to me, and that every measure of yours, as far as they have come to my knowledge and am capable of judging, has been conducted with a prudence and discernment that leave your character, as an officer, unimpeached. Although I most sincerely wish you to remain with the army, yet as I wish to evince the utmost tenderness to the feelings of every gentleman who conceives himself injured, I cannot withold my consent to your waiting on the commander-in-chief, with such gentlemen of your suite as you choose should follow you."—Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

to be pursued to prevent an increase of our misfortunes in this unlucky quarter." In a postscript he wrote: "Be so good as to take a bed with me, that whilst you remain here we may be as much together as possible."

This letter passed Gates on the way. He left New York on the 26th of July, bearing explicit instructions from General Washington. The tenor and phraseology of those instructions, drawn under the direction of Congress, are noteworthy. Gates was thereby empowered to appoint a deputy adjutant-general, a deputy quarter-master-general, a deputy muster-master-general, and such other officers as he should find necessary for the service. He was empowered to fill all vacancies in the army in Canada, and notify the same to Congress for their approbation. He was authorized, until the first of the next October, to suspend any officers and fill up all vacancies, transmitting to Congress such order and suspension with his reasons therefor. He was directed to consult with the Commissary-general, before his departure, about supplies, and also with Colonel Knox about artillery; and on his arrival at Albany to "consult with General Schuyler in regard to the present state of provisions and stores, and fix upon some certain means of forwarding the regular supplies, in future, from that place." At the same time the instructions continued, "endeavor to learn whether supplies heretofore sent have not reached that department, and by what means such failures have happened, that a proper remedy may be provided. From General Schuyler you will also receive such advice and information respecting the operations of the campaign as may be useful and necessary." He was directed to immediately settle all accounts connected with the army in Canada. He was directed to make an accurate return of the troops, artillery, arms, ammunition, provis-

ions and stores which he might find in Canada, and transmit the same directly to Congress, and to Washington once a fortnight.

It will be seen by these instructions that General Gates was invested with a separate and independent command of the army "in Canada," and was to have Schuyler's advice and coöperation, but not be under his control while in such command "in Canada." With these instructions he arrived in Albany, and was cordially received by General Schuyler, and from him first learned, officially, that the army he was sent to command were out of Canada and his "occupation gone."

Gates was disappointed, but not disheartened. He had powerful friends in Congress, and he knew how earnestly they desired to have him in command of the Northern Department. He gave the broadest construction to his commission and the instructions of the commander-in-chief, and claimed that he had supreme control, under Congress, of the army lately in Canada, wherever it might be, and consequently was now the military head of the Northern Department. Without consulting Schuyler, he proceeded to act upon this assumption, by appointing subordinate officers. The matter was first brought to the General's notice, excepting in the form of rumor, when, on the 30th of June, two days after his arrival in Albany, Gates introduced to him a Mr. Avery, of Massachusetts, whom he had brought from New York, and who formally applied to Schuyler for money to carry on the Commissary-general's department, in Albany. Schuyler asked him for his authority, when he produced a commission from the Commissary-general, Joseph Trumbull, at New York, appointing him deputy commissary "in Canada." Schuyler remarked that his commission by no means superseded

that of Walter Livingston, the deputy commissary of the Northern Department. Avery declared that it was Trumbull's intention that he (Avery) should have sole management, and that Livingston was to be considered only as a contractor. Schuyler sent for Livingston, who showed him a letter from Trumbull dated only five days before, which flatly contradicted the assertion of Avery; whereupon Schuyler informed the latter that if he remained in the army, provided it was not in Canada, he must obey the orders of Livingston, whom he should try to keep in the office, because of his faithfulness and efficiency.* "His great family connections in this country," Schuyler said, "have enabled him to carry on the service, when others could not have done it;" and he gave instances. General Gates, who was present, acquiesced in the propriety of Schuyler's remarks, and he and Avery departed together. So soon as they had left Schuyler's presence, Gates told Avery that when he came to the army he would employ him as commissary.† The remark was

* The attention of Congress was called to the subject of the powers of the Commissary-general, in the matter of the appointment of deputies, and on the 8th of July they resolved that he should "appoint and employ such persons under him, and to remove any deputy commissary, as he shall judge proper and expedient," in any department.

† Gates did so. Avery acted under his commission from Trumbull, and refused to acknowledge Livingston, the senior officer in the Commissary Department of the Northern Army, as his superior. This gave much trouble. Finally Avery refused to make returns of provisions to Livingston, and disobeyed a positive order of General Schuyler; whereupon the latter laid the matter, in a letter, before Trumbull. The latter, with petulance, replied in an insulting manner, saying: "Sir, I have received your letter respecting Mr. Avery. I have directed him to withdraw from Ticonderoga immediately. I find he nor any other person can have anything to do in the Commissary Department in the Northern District, without a continual clashing with Mr. Livingston; and that he is supported by the commander-in-chief, therefore all must give way to him. Mr. Yancey will also withdraw.

overheard and immediately conveyed to Schuyler. He was surprised, for Gates knew that the army was not in Canada. The conviction flashed upon him that he had a rival in the Department, and he determined to have the question of a disputed command, which must evidently be raised, settled at once and definitely. He sent for Gates, when a conversation occurred in the presence of Walter Livingston, notes of which were made by General Schuyler, at the time, in the following manner:

"General Gates observed that Mr. Lewis [whom he had appointed deputy quarter-master-general in place of Colonel Campbell, then in the service, and who had gone to Philadelphia to settle his accounts] had intimated to him, as what he had from Colonel Trumbull [the Commissary-general], that he might as well return to New York, as General Gates could not provide for him agreeably to expectations, because, the army having quitted Canada, it was now under the command of General Schuyler. General Gates declared that Colonel Campbell, deputy quarter-master general, being ordered to Congress to settle his accounts, he should appoint Mr. Lewis.* General Schuyler answered: "If Colonel Campbell quitted the department he would willingly appoint any person General Gates thought proper, but that the army being now out of Canada, he conceived that it was under his (Schuyler's) command, and that he could suffer no appointment to be made by General Gates.

"General Gates conceived the contrary, upon which General Schuyler, observing that he meant to be clear and explicit in a point of much importance, declared that he conceived the army to be altogether under his [Schuyler's] command when on this side of Canada, subject, however, to the control of General Washington. That in his absence, General Gates would command the army in the same manner as General Sullivan did now, and only as eldest officer, who acknowledged

This I have noticed to Mr. Livingston, that he may take care accordingly. I never intended Mr. Avery should be subordinate to Mr. Livingston."—Autograph Letter, September 5, 1776.

Schuyler's reply was courteous and conciliatory, and no serious difficulty ensued.

* Morgan Lewis, then twenty-two years of age, who was afterward a Colonel in the service, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, and major-general in the war of 1812. Young Lewis was appointed by Congress, in September, 1776, deputy quarter-master-general in the Northern Department.

that General Schuyler's commands were binding on him, which he instanced in General Sullivan's last letter, and pointedly observed that if he was with the army (which he always would be whenever his health, or other indispensable public business, did not call him from it), and ordered it to move from one place to another, that he expected to be obeyed. That, upon any sudden emergency, the officer commanding the army had a right to exercise his judgment and take measures accordingly, for which he was, however, obnoxious to the censure or praise of the commander of the Department. That if Congress meant General Gates should command the army in this Department, and would resolve so, that he should most readily acquiesce, but that they could not after that imagine he would remain in it; that they had certainly a right to make what arrangements they thought proper; that he was a creature of theirs and they had a right to remove him whenever they pleased, but that they could not put him under the command of a younger officer, nor oblige him to be a suicide and stab his own honor; that he frankly confessed General Gates' superior military qualifications; that he would always advise with him and his other generals, and that if he was superseded, it would give him great pleasure to be superseded by a gentleman of General Gates' character and reputation.

"Both General Gates and General Schuyler declared they would lay the matter before Congress to prevent any evil consequences from a disputed command, in a critical moment; that for the present they would coöperate that no evil might result to the service, and that each should write to Congress to determine the matter."*

Schuyler wrote to Washington the next day, giving in detail the facts concerning this matter, and after reading his letter to Gates, wrote at the bottom of the minutes above given: "General Gates having read General Schuyler's letter to his Excellency, General Washington, agreed that the matter was fairly and fully stated, and therefore declined writing."†

"If Congress," Schuyler further remarked, "intended that General Gates should command the Northern Army, wherever it may be, as he assures me they did, it ought to have been signified to me, and I should then have immediately resigned the command to him; but until such intention is properly conveyed to me, I never can. I must therefore entreat your Excellency to lay this letter before Congress, that they may clearly and explicitly signify their intentions, to avert the dangers and evils that may arise from a disputed command; for,

* Schuyler's Autograph Notes of the Conversation. † *Ibid.*

after what General Gates has said, the line must be clearly drawn, as I shall, until then, stand upon punctilios with General Gates, that I would otherwise with pleasure waive; but that the service may not be retarded, nor suffer the least from a difference of opinion between General Gates and me, I have determined to remain here, although I had, before this affair came to light, mentioned to him my intentions of going up with him."*

Washington sent General Schuyler's letter to Congress, and on the 8th of July that body

"*Resolved*: That Major-general Gates be informed that it was the intention of Congress to give him command of the troops while in Canada, but that they had no design to invest him with a superior command to General Schuyler, while the troops should be on this side Canada; and that the President write to Major-general Schuyler, and Major-general Gates, stating this matter, and recommending to them to carry on the military operations with harmony, and in such manner as shall best promote the public service."

A copy of the resolution was sent to Washington.

This action, and the politic course pursued by General Gates, quieted Schuyler's apprehensions, and on the 17th of July he wrote from the German Flats to the President of Congress, saying:

"When gentlemen act with candor to each other, a difference in opinion will seldom be attended with any disagreeable consequences. I am happy, Sir, that I can assure you that the most perfect good understanding subsists between General Gates and me, insomuch that it gave him pain that I was under the necessity of quitting the army to repair here at this critical juncture. You will please to assure Congress that I am deeply impressed with the necessity of mutual confidence among all its officers, and that I shall never neglect any measure that may have a tendency to so desirable an end. I have seen, with the deepest affliction, the unhappy jealousy which reigned in the Northern Army, occasioned by Colonial distinctions—distinctions both injurious to the cause of America and disgraceful to the authors of them. I have pointed out to the several Colonels and commanding officers of corps, in language as pointed as I could, the pernicious consequences of such a fatal dissension, and I hope it will be soon eradicated."

To Washington Schuyler wrote on the same day, saying: "Your Excellency's favor of the 11th instant was

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

delivered me this morning, with the sundry papers mentioned in it. It gives me a very sincere, and a heartfelt pleasure that I can declare that the difference in opinion between General Gates and me has been simply such, unattended with that little jealousy which would have reflected disgrace upon both. Be assured, Sir, that the most perfect harmony subsists between us, and that I shall, by every attention to General Gates, strictly cultivate it, as well to increase my own felicity as to promote the public service."

So was quieted a movement on the part of the New England delegates for depriving Schuyler of the command of the Northern Department, and giving it to General Gates. It only slumbered. Commissary Trumbull wrote to Gates: "I find you are in a cursed situation; your authority at an end; and commanded by a person who will be willing to have you knocked in the head, as General Montgomery was, if he can have the money chest in his power." Governor Trumbull, the father of the commissary, wrote to William Williams: "It is justly to be expected that General Gates is discontented with his situation, finding himself limited and removed from the command, to be a wretched spectator of the ruin of the army, without power of attempting to save them." And late in August, Elbridge Gerry, of the New England delegation, wrote to Gates: "We want very much to see you with the sole command in the Northern Department, but hope you will not relinquish your exertions until a favorable opportunity shall effect it." At the same time Schuyler's public and private enemies were industriously circulating the most absurd and scandalous falsehoods concerning him, while Congress refused to comply with his repeated request for a court of inquiry.

"I find the jealousies with respect to me," Schuyler wrote to Gates on his return from an Indian conference of some weeks, late in August, "have not yet subsided in the country. I am informed that some Committees at the eastward, in this, and the adjacent States, are trying me. I wish Congress may at last comply with my entreaties, and order an inquiry on the many charges made against me, that I may not any longer be insulted. I assure you that I am sincerely tired of abuse, that I will let my enemies arrive at the completion of their wishes, by retiring as soon as I shall have been tried, and attempt to serve my injured country in some other way, where envy and detraction have no temptation to follow me."*

Quite different was the treatment which Schuyler received at the hands of other members of Congress, who knew him far better than did these New England politicians. The Commissioners who went to Canada in the spring of 1776, and who saw with their own eyes and heard with their own ears what noble and notable services he had performed, and was continuing to perform, had been disturbed by the evident intrigues of Gates, and they rebuked him for his expressed suspicion of Schuyler, and his evidently unkind feelings toward him. So early as the 14th of June, Charles Carroll wrote to Gates, begging that his suspicions might not prejudice him against Schuyler, for he was confident he was "an active and deserving officer;" and Samuel Chase, another Commissioner, in a letter to Gates of the same date, recommended him to place "the most unreserved and unlimited confidence in Schuyler. Be assured, Sir, of his integrity, diligence, abilities, and address." But all these things passed

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

for nought in the mind of Gates, and of his friends who were bent on putting him in the place of General Schuyler. With utter duplicity did Gates receive all the marks of generous kindness which Schuyler bestowed upon him for several months, until his schemes ripened into full fruit in the spring of 1777, as we shall observe hereafter.

CHAPTER V.

At this juncture, the most important measures upon which the insurgent colonists had yet ventured was consummated. It was the Declaration of Independence. On the 7th of June Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, arose in Congress, and read aloud the resolution: "That these United Colonies are, and of right, ought to be free and Independent States; and that all political union between us and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." John Adams, of Massachusets, seconded the resolution. It remained without further notice until the 10th, when it was agreed to postpone all further consideration of it until the first day of July, but, that no time should be lost, a committee was appointed the next day to draw up a declaration consonant with the resolution. It was brought up on the 1st of July, passed on the 2d, and on the 4th the Declaration was adopted. Yet it attracted very little attention at first, for the immense importance of the measure was not felt by those who were in the midst of the excitements of the war. It was but a passing item in the march of great events. Schuyler only incidentally alluded to it in a letter to Washington, by saying: "I shall immediately transmit the Declaration of Congress to General Gates, and desire him to proclaim it throughout the army." And in his letter to Gates the next day, inclosing the printed Declaration, he only said: "General Washington has enclosed me the Declaration of

Congress of the 4th instant, declaring the United American Colonies free and independent States, and directed that it should be proclaimed throughout the Northern Army, for which I do myself the honor to inclose it to you."

At this time the country was alarmed by the appearance on our shores of a portion of the army which the British Government had dispatched to America, independent of those already arrived in Canada under Burgoyne. These were under the command of General Howe, who, when he evacuated Boston, in March, went to Halifax, and now came with a recruited army to retrieve what he then lost. He appeared at Sandy Hook in well-convoyed transports on the 29th of June, and on the 8th of July he landed nine thousand men upon Staten Island, and there awaited the arrival of his brother, Admiral Howe, with a strong fleet, bearing British regulars and German hirelings. These arrived in the course of a few days, and Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, with their broken forces, arrived from Charleston at about the same time, and joined them. So at the middle of July full thirty thousand soldiers stood upon the heights of Staten Island, ready to fall upon Washington's little army at Brooklyn. Burgoyne, at the same time, was making some threatening demonstrations on the North, but Schuyler assured Washington and Congress that he did not believe he would be able to penetrate the country from Canada.

Schuyler was now pressed on all sides with the most important and arduous duties, which demanded ubiquity in the performer. That condition he fulfilled in a remarkable degree, for he was here and there, at places widely apart, at short intervals. Three days after he was directed to hold a conference with the Six Nations at Fort Stan-

wix, he was ordered to take measures for clearing Wood Creek, at Skenesborough (now Whitehall), constructing a lock there, and taking the level of the waters falling into the Hudson River at Fort Edward, and into Wood Creek This was in accordance with a scheme for connecting the waters of the Hudson and Lake Champlain, which he had long contemplated, and which, as we have seen, he communicated to the commissioners in the Spring.* He was also charged with holding the waters of Lake Champlain against a threatened invasion from Canada by Burgoyne, to judge of the expediency of establishing a fortified camp on the heights opposite Ticonderoga, and to assist in obstructing the navigation of the Hudson River at the Highlands. To these duties he applied himself with amazing assiduity and skill.

Having set in motion the construction of gondolas and batteaux for war service on the lakes under the direct control of General Arnold, he completed his surveys for the projected canal, and established a fortified camp on what was named Mount Independence after the news of the passage of the great declaration reached the northern army.

Schuyler hastened to the German Flatts on the upper Mohawk, where he arrived on the evening of the 16th of July, in company with Messrs. Douw and Edwards (associate Indian Commissioners). There was Colonel Dayton erecting a fortification which he had ordered a fortnight before, and there he met Peter Ryckman, an Albany trader, who had been confined at Fort Niagara for about a year, under the just suspicion that he was favorable to the Republican cause, and might influence the Indians, with

* See page 40.

whom he was extensively acquainted, against the British. He gave Schuyler much and valuable information. He had brought with him twenty-one Seneca warriors who confirmed his statements. They alleged that Colonel John Butler, a crown agent, one of the most active and malignant of the Tories in Tryon County, had frequently attempted to entice the Indians from their attitude of neutrality, but in vain, and that the chiefs had as frequently reprimanded him for such attempts; for they had determined to let "the Father and Son," as they expressed it, "settle their difficulties between them." Such they represented were the inclinations of the sachems of all the Six Nations, and that the grand council at Onondago had sent a sachem of note express to Niagara, to bring away two sachems whom Butler, by dint of money and liquor, had kept about him all the Spring.

In a letter to General Washington, written on the 17th, Schuyler expressed his opinion that Burgoyne would attempt to penetrate the country from the north, but that it would be impossible for him to effect it, even if he should cross the lakes (George and Champlain), "which," he said, "I cannot conceive he will be able to do, as our naval strength greatly exceeds his own, and as we shall certainly build as fast as he can." On the same day he wrote to Governor Trumbull, saying: "As numerous and formidable as our enemies are, I cannot despair of success against them, provided we are unanimous. I mention this because of the unhappy dissensions in the Northern Army, where some unfriendly or unthinking people have set up colonial distinctions. I have always deprecated every attempt to divide us by that or any other means; and when I was last at Crown Point I convinced the commanding officers of every corps, and pointed out, in the most forcible manner

I was capable of, the danger of such distinctions, and how much and how justly the enemy would exult to learn it."

The sachems of the Six Nations were tardy in their assembling at the German Flatts. They were very anxious, however, to meet General Schuyler there, for delegates whom they had recently sent to New York and Philadelphia had returned with such marvellous accounts of the power and resources of the Republicans, that they had no doubt of being an overmatch for the British and their allies. They sent runners with excuses and apologies for their delay, such as the death of a sachem, or the severe illness of one. But these were not the only reasons for delays. The proverbial bad faith of the Indians was a hinderance. Schuyler was informed that the Senecas and Cayugas had received an invitation from Colonel Butler to attend a conference at Niagara, and were considering what reply to give him.

Schuyler was extremely impatient because of these delays, but the gravity of the occasion made him wait. He was assured that if he should leave, the Western sachems would not come. He chafed under the restraint, and on the first of August he wrote to General Gates, saying: "*Entre nous*, I do most solemnly declare that I would rather be the proprietor of a potato garden and literally live by the sweat of my brow, than be an Indian Commissioner at a time when you cannot prudently resent an insult given by these haughty princes of the wilderness."

But the case was too critical to be neglected. Rumors were thick that a force of British and Indians were landing at Oswego, with the intention of penetrating the country and destroying the settlements on the Mohawk River. At the same time rumors were as thick concern-

ing the movements of the enemy at St. John's, on the Sorel; and Schuyler was greatly annoyed by the action of a council of officers under Washington's command, who had practically censured him for removing the head-quarters of the army on Lake Champlain, from Crown Point to Ticonderoga, at which his enemies took heart and commenced anew their attacks upon him.

Schuyler waited, with impatience, until the 6th of August, when all the deputations were there, and the conference opened in form on the afternoon of that day. It began inauspiciously, for two of the sachems requested that the Commissioners should publicly condole the death of one of their sachems, who fell while fighting Major Sherburne at the Cedars. This insult—this open acknowledgment of their former bad faith on the part of the Indians—could not be borne, and the request was rejected with indignation. The point was waived and the business went on. The Commissioners opened the conference by reading the following speech which had been prepared by General Schuyler:

Brothers, Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations:

With this String we open your ears that you may plainly hear what the independent States of America have to say to their Brethren of the Six Nations: with it we wipe away all mists that may interrupt your sight, and let it clear your Hearts from every obstruction and incline them to receive our Words with Brotherly Love.

Brothers:

We thank God that he has been pleased to suffer us to meet you in Health. May sickness never enter into your Country, but may Health and Happiness dwell in your Habitations, and may the Six Nations be a great and a happy people. *A String.*

The Council Fire which is now burning at this place has been kindled by a spark taken from the great Council Fire at Albany. We have brought it here in our Bosoms—We have lighted it up here, because we were afraid that the small-pox might infect our Brethren of the Six Nations, if they went farther down the River, and

that some of them might go home with Heavy Hearts for the loss of their Relations, and we hope this Conduct of the Commissioners meets with your approbation. *A Belt.*

Brothers, Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations: The united Colonies have always been in Hopes that a Reconciliation would take place between us and the King.—To that end they have frequently petitioned the King for Redress of the Grievances they laboured under; but he would not listen to their petitions.—He was deaf and would not give Ear to their Complaints, and instigated by his evil Counsellors he forgot that we were his children, he wanted to make us his Slaves. To accomplish this unjust and cruel purpose he has sent his armies and his fleets to try to destroy and distress us, and therefore the united Colonies, when they found that he had become a cruel and an oppressive Father that hated them, and that he had not only given the Hatchet to the English on the other side of the Water, but had also sent it to the few Friends he had amongst us, ordering them to put it into the Hands of our Negroes and whoever would accept it to strike us, have unanimously left his House, and now no longer consider him as their Father and King, and have accordingly proclaimed to all the World that they will never hereafter acknowledge him or any of his Family to be their King, but that they will always be and remain a free and independant people, and therefore have called themselves the independant States of America, and solemnly agreed always to remain firmly united: we must therefore for the future be called the Commissioners of the United Independant States of America, and that you may remember this great Event we now deliver you this Belt. *A Belt.*

Brothers, Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations, now open your Ears and listen attentively to what the independant States of America have further to say to you, for in their Names we speak. Our Speech will be plain as it always has been, for, as we never have been, we scorn to be double Minded.—It will be the Speech of Freemen who will candidly tell you your Faults; you shall know all that is in our Hearts; we will hide Nothing from you, that you may know our Intentions clearly and fully.

Brothers:

You well remember that soon after the king's warriors had began to spill the Blood of the Inhabitants of this great Island, that the united Colonies called you together at Albany.—They there rekindled the antient Council Fire and brightened up the Covenant Chain that had bound your ancestors and ours together in Bonds of the purest Love and sincerest Friendship.—It was last Summer that we the Commissioners met you there on that pleasing Business.—We then gave you a full, a fair, and a candid account of the Cause of the Quarrel between us and the King; we did not do it in a dark Corner as those

that mean Evil, but in the presence of all that would come to see and hear, that they might witness the Truth of what we said.—When we had related this, we informed you, that as we were unhappily engaged in a Family Quarrel in which the Six Nations were not in the least concerned, either one way or the other, we desired and expected that you should not assist the one or the other, but remain quietly and peacefully at Home and mind your own Business.—We confirmed our words with a large belt.

Brothers : — The answer you made was delivered by Abraham the Mohawk Sachem, whom you had chosen your speaker.—These were his words, we shall repeat them exactly : " Now therefore attend and " apply your Ears closely.—We have fully considered this Matter; " the Resolutions of the Six Nations are not to be broken or altered.— " When they resolve the Matter is fixed.—This then is the Determi- " nation of the Six Nations—*Not to take any part, but as it is a " Family Quarrel to sit still and see you fight it out.*—It is a long time " since we came to this Resolution.—It is the Result of mature " Deliberation.—It was our Declaration to Colonel Johnson.—We " told him *we would take no part in the Quarrel, and hoped neither side " would desire it; whoever applies first we shall think is in the wrong.*— " The Resolutions of the Six Nations are not to be shaken."

Brothers :

These Words and these Resolutions pleased us well, because what you declared was what we requested: That you should take no part in the Quarrel, but sit still and see us fight it out, and because we believed that you were sincere; and that you said Nothing with your Tongues, but what you had in your Hearts.—Your Speech was delivered in full Council and in the presence of a Number of people.—We had therefore the highest Reason to expect that you would strictly abide by your Resolutions. But, Brothers, we now ask you, whether you have abode by these wise Words and adhered to these prudent Resolutions ? It grieves us to say that you have not. That you have acted directly contrary to your solemn Engagement and broken that Faith which you plighted and which we depended upon, as we shall now plainly make appear by repeating a Number of Facts which are known by you all, and which you cannot contradict or deny.

First.—When our Army went to St. John's last year your people interfered in the Quarrel by joining with our Enemies in attacking our Warriors, and then the Resolutions of the Six Nations were broken and altered, altho' you had said that they were not to be broken or altered.

Secondly.—When our great Council at Philadelphia was informed that Sir John Johnson was inlisting Men, and that he and the Highlanders who lived about Johnstown were preparing to murder our Friends, they sent some Warriors to disarm them, and then you again

interfered in the Quarrel.—You were very troublesome, and threatened us, altho' we had sent you Word that no Harm was intended you, for that we had no Quarrel with the Indians, and thus the Resolutions of the Six Nations were again broken and altered.

Thirdly.—When our great Council in the month of May last had received certain Intelligence that Sir John Johnson was inlisting Men and preparing to join the Enemy, they ordered up a Body of Warriors; but least you should be alarmed, Mr. Douw went up to the East End of the House to inform you that no Evil was intended you.—Yet you nevertheless interfered in the Quarrel.—Mr. Douw was insulted with abusive Language, and Mr. Bleecker the Interpreter was threatened and seized by the Breast contrary to the Custom of all Nations.—For the person of an ambassador and a Messenger of peace is always held sacred, and thus the Resolutions of the Six Nations were a third Time broken and altered.

Fourthly.—Altho' you knew that Sir John Johnson was inlisting Men and preparing to go to the enemy, contrary to the most solemn agreement with us, yet you not only assisted him in going to the enemy; but even threatened to kill our Warriors, and actually appeared in arms for that hostile purpose, and thus you again interfered in the Quarrel and a fourth time broke and altered your Resolutions.

Fifthly.—Contrary to your Resolutions you have opened your ears, and given ear to the voice of our Enemies, and complied with their Desires.—Butler has prevailed upon you to go into Canada and fight against us.—As we had no quarrel with any Indians; as we had even released those that we had taken prisoners in Battle, we were surprised to find any Indians fighting against us; but when we were told that some of the Six Nations were there and had joined our Enemies; that they had struck the Ax in our Head and covered the Ground with the bones of our Warriors and defiled the earth with their blood, after having but a little Time before promised to remain neuter, we could hardly believe it at first; but upon Enquiry we found it was true. Your ax still sticks in our Heads, and thus you again interfered in the Quarrel and a fifth Time broke and altered your Resolutions.

Sixthly.—You have also lately upon this River, in the midst of the Inhabitants, wickedly and wilfully fired on, attacked and destroyed a Batteau loaded with Flour, which was coming up here for the use of our Warriors and to feed you at this Treaty, and thereby you have again insulted us and interfered in the Quarrel, and a sixth time broken and altered the Resolutions of the Six Nations.

Thus, Brothers, we have mentioned six instances in which the Resolutions of the Six Nations have been contravened, altho' you told us in full Council at Albany that they were not to be broken or altered, and that when you resolved the Matter was fixed, and thus also, instead of sitting still and see us fight it out, as you also told us you would do,

you have actually assisted our Enemies and taken an active part in the Quarrel against us, thereby opening your Ears to and listening to the advice of our Enemies by complying with their Request, altho' you expressly said that *whoever applied first you should think was in the wrong.*

Now, Brothers, tell us, if you can, when we have asked you to interfere in the Quarrel? When and where have we desired your assistance? Have we given you a bloody belt? Have we offered you the ax? Have we roasted an Englishman and desired you to drink his Blood? You cannot say that we ever did any of these things, and yet our Enemies have done all this.—You have told us so yourselves, and you cannot deny it. We have always said that we were not afraid of our Enemies; we say so still; we have never asked you to fight for us, and yet some of you have fought for them.—Was this well done? God, who knows all things, knows that it was not.—You yourselves know it was not.—We know it was not, and thus you have unjustly taken up arms against us, and altho' we felt the Blows and altho' the ax still sticks in our Heads, yet we have forborne to take Revenge, because your Ancestors and ours always had a great affection and Friendship for each other and faithfully kept the Covenants they made with each other in such a manner that both were happy, both were pleased, and peace dwelt in their Habitations, and because we had resolved to make our Complaint in full Council and lay Grievances before the whole Six Nations, as we now do, expecting that you will speak as plain as we do and remove all Cause of Complaint for the future.

Brothers:—again attend to the voice of all the white people on this great Island.— They say, that they have not injured you, that they wish to live in Friendship with all Indians and in particular with the Six Nations, who are their near Neighbors, and with whom their Ancestors have always lived in peace and Friendship.--They say that you have unjustly injured and insulted them. They say, that as they are Freemen, as free as you are, and are now fighting to preserve that Freedom, that they will not suffer themselves to be affronted, injured and insulted with Impunity by you or any Men on Earth. They will do as you have formerly done; as you still do, and as you have a Right to do, that is, to guard themselves against any Enemy whatsoever by any just Means in their power.

Brothers:—We know that many of you are honest men; faithful to your Engagements; holding sacred the Faith you have plighted and bearing a Brotherly affection to the Inhabitants of this great Island.—These we love, respect and honor, and we call God to witness that we will do them every kindness in our power and never give them the least Cause of Complaint.—We also know who are our Enemies, altho' we do not know why.—We have given them no Cause to be such.

Brothers, Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations:—We have spoken plain.—We will if possible speak more plain; open therefore your Ears that you may clearly hear and understand the Declaration of the independent States of America.—It is this, that they mean to live in Friendship and cultivate a good Understanding, and maintain a friendly Intercourse with all Indians, and that in answer to this they do require that all Indians should declare their Intentions, and therefore ask the Six Nations now convened round this Council Fire of peace what their Intentions are? If they mean to live in Friendship, to cultivate a good Understanding and maintain a friendly Intercourse with us, we require that they will take the Hatchet out of our Heads and that none of them will again assist our Enemies, in which case we do most solemnly promise that we will love and cherish them and treat them with the greatest kindness and affection, and that we will forever hereafter rather die than wrong them or suffer others to do it—but if any amongst you should so far forget their own Interest as now to become or continue our Enemies after all the Kindness and Forbearance we have shown, let them say so, that all the white people of this great Island may know what they have to depend upon.—No person shall molest them here or on the way, for it shall never be said that we injured or insulted people with whom we were in Treaty, altho' they intended to be our Enemies.

Brothers:—We have done our Duty; we have spoke plainly—we request you will do the same.—We shall become open Enemies or warm and inviolable Friends.—We wish for your Friendship not out of Fear but out of Love, and that a good Understanding may prevail between the white Inhabitants of this great Island and the Six Nations until the Sun shall grow dim with age.—And it will be your Fault if we do not part as good Friends with the Six Nations, and remain so hereafter, as your Ancestors and ours were in the Time of Quedor, when they fought side by side against the common Enemy.

Brothers:—We have now spoken our Mind fully.—You cannot charge us with Deceit. Our conduct has been invariably the same from the Time that we first met at Albany to this Day. We have not said one thing and done another, as our Enemies have, and as you now know all that is in our Hearts, we desire you to think seriously of it and to speak your thoughts fairly and fully and not be double hearted. Do not say one thing and think another, for that is shameful in a private Man and in private affairs, but scandalous in public Bodies and public Business.

This Belt on which our Wishes are described, and which denotes what we hope will take place, that is, a firm Union between the Six Nations and the thirteen united States of America—This Belt we say confirms our Words.

The Large Belt.

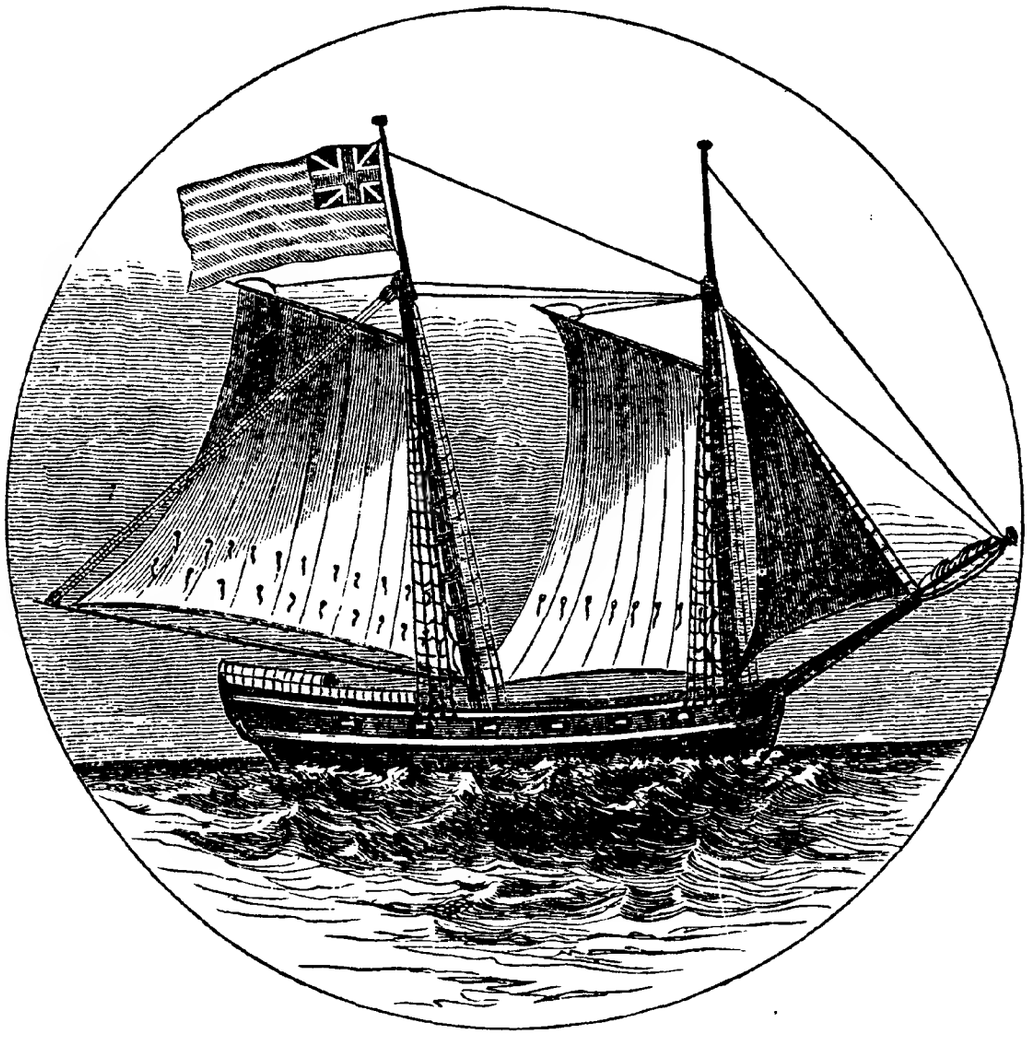
This is a fair specimen of scores of addresses to the Indians in council, written by General Schuyler during his long intercourse with the savages, as chairman of the Indian commission.

It will be seen that neutrality, not alliance, was the point urged in this speech. "We were unanimously of opinion," Schuyler wrote to the President of Congress, on the 18th of August, "founded upon all the information we could procure, that the attempt to induce the Indians to join us would have essentially injured us, as they might, and probably would, have concluded we were too weak for the enemy." To this conclusion Schuyler was glad to arrive, for he deprecated the employment of savages in the contest.

The conference was short. The Six Nations renewed their promises to remain neutral, and Schuyler returned to Albany on the evening of the 11th of July. Fort Stanwix was rebuilt or renewed by Colonel Dayton, and by him named Fort Schuyler.

On his return to Albany, Schuyler found many pressing duties awaiting his personal attention. That which had concerned him most was the building, fitting out and manning the war vessels on Lake Champlain. The difficulties had been great, and the tardiness alarming. At the beginning of August only seventy seamen had been drawn from the army, and almost the only vessel that ap peared nearly ready for service was the *Royal Savage*,*

* Among General Schuyler's papers, I found a drawing of the *Royal Savage*, marked "Wynkoop's Schooner," neatly made in water-colors, of which a copy is given on the next page. It affords positive proof of the character of the "Union Flag" used at that time, about which so much has been written. On the 4th of January, 1776, Washington wrote from Cambridge to Colonel Joseph Reed:—"The speech [the King's] I send you. A volume of them was sent out by the Boston gentry, and, farcical enough, we gave great joy to them, without knowing or intending it; for on that day, the day which gave being



THE ROYAL SAVAGE.

a schooner commanded by Colonel Wynkoop, who expected to be the commodore of the fleet. But within a

to the new army, but before the proclamation came to hand, we had hoisted the union flag, in compliment to the united colonies. But, behold, it was received in Boston as a token of the deep impression the speech had made upon us, and as a signal of submission. So we hear by a person out of Boston last night. By this time I presume they begin to think it strange that we have not made a formal surrender of our lines."

The question has been, why did the "union flag" make such an impression upon the British in Boston? An answer has always been a conjecture; this drawing solves it. At the head of the main-mast of the *Royal Savage* is seen the union flag of thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, indicating the union of the thirteen colonies. In one corner is seen the British union, the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. The colonies had not yet declared their independence. They professed loyalty to the crown, hence they signified that loyalty by placing the British union in the proper place in their new flag, and with it combined their own symbol of union.

fortnight a great change had occurred. Christopher Yates had established a saw-mill on Wood Creek, not far from Skenesborough, which turned out lumber abundantly; Robert Livingston, owner of iron works on Livingston's manor, and Colonel Joshua Porter, proprietor of the Salisbury (Connecticut) iron works, had furnished cannon and swivels; Captain Varick, Schuyler's Secretary, at Albany, to whom his chief had written: "Borrow all the money you can upon my credit," had procured ample supplies, and General Arnold, whom Gates had commissioned the chief commander of the flotilla,* had procured ship-carpenters and sailors from the seaboard. On the 18th of August Gates was able to send to Schuyler a list of vessels ready and nearly ready for service, bearing an aggregate

* Colonel Wynkoop, who had been appointed captain of the flotilla, by Congress, was disposed to resist the authority of Arnold when, on the 17th of August, the latter gave him orders to get the vessels under sail and proceed down the lake, on a reconnoitring expedition. In reply Wynkoop wrote: "I know no orders but what shall be given out by me, except sailing orders from the commander-in-chief. If an enemy is approaching, I am to be acquainted with it, and know how to act in my station." Arnold replied that he was surprised that Wynkoop should pretend to contradict his orders, and said: "You surely must be out of your senses to say no orders shall be obeyed but yours." He told Wynkoop that he must obey his orders instantly, or he would be under the disagreeable necessity of convincing him of his error, by immediately arresting him. Wynkoop appealed to General Gates, declaring that he had rather be dismissed the service than to obey Arnold, for "I am resolved," he said, "to go under command of no man." Arnold ordered him to be placed under arrest, and sent to Gates at Ticonderoga. In a letter to Gates he said: "I believe the commodore was really of opinion that neither of us had authority to command him. He now seems convinced to the contrary, and sorry for his disobedience of orders. If it can be done with propriety, I wish he may be permitted to return home without being cashiered." General Schuyler wrote to Gates: "A strange infatuation seems to prevail in people. How Wynkoop should imagine that he was not to obey General Arnold's orders, he being the oldest officer then on the spot, I cannot imagine." Wynkoop was allowed to leave the service without further difficulty.

armament of sixty-seven cannon, ninety-four mortars and four hundred and eighty-five men. Nothing now seemed wanting to make the flotilla a formidable fleet, but a good supply of expert commanders and seamen. These were soon furnished, and before there was opportunity for their use, early in October, Arnold found himself in command of three schooners, two sloops, three galleys, eight gondolas, and twenty-one gun-boats.

List of Continental Arm'd Vessels, on Lake Champlain; August 18th, 1776.

Names of Vessels and Commanders.	*No. of Guns.*	*Size of Ditto.*	*No. of Swivels.*	*No. of Men.*	
Sloop *Enterprize*—Dickson	12.	4 lbs.	10.	50.	*Sailed.*
Schooner *Royal Savage*—Wynkoop	12.	4, 6 lbs.: 8, 4 lbs.	10.	50.	
Schooner *Revenge* — Seaman	8.	4, 4 lbs.: 4, 2 lbs.	10.	35.	
Schooner *Liberty*—Premier	8.	2, 4 lbs.: 6, 2 lbs.	8.	35.	
Gondola *N. Haven*—Mansfield	3.	1, 12 lb.: 2, 9 lbs.	8.	45.	
Gondola *Providence*—Simmonds	3.	Do.	8.	45.	
Gondola *Boston*—Sumner	3.	Do.	8.	45.	
Do. *Spitfire*—Ulmer	3.	Do.	8.	45.	
Do. *Philadelphia*—Orne	3.	Do.	8.	45.	
Gondola *Connecticut*—Grant	3.	Do.	8.	45.	*Not entirely rigged.*
Gondola ———————*Graham*	3.	Do.	8.	45.	
Row Galley *Lee*—Spanish construction—Davis . .	6.	1, 2: 1, 9: 4, 4 lbs.	—	—	
Total 12	67		94	485	. .

Allusion has been made to the action of a council of general officers in Washington's army, whereby the abandonment of Crown Point in July, and the transfer of the head-quarters of the Northern Army on Lake Champlain,

was severely censured. That measure had been specially recommended by General Schuyler, in view of the wants and condition of that army, and had been cordially approved by General Gates and a council of general officers. The action of the council at New York had been taken without inquiry concerning those wants, or even a knowledge of the military situation on the lakes, and was induced by a remonstrance of the field-officers of the Northern Army, some of whom Schuyler believed were continually seeking an occasion to injure him. He had become exceedingly sensitive upon the subject of interference with his authority, and doubtless often magnified into almost crimes the respectful suggestions of the most zealous and patriotic men. Such appears to have been the case in this instance. The remonstrance which was also made in due form to General Schuyler himself, was couched in the most respectful terms, and made with evident concern for the good of the service; and it was signed by several officers who were afterwards greatly distinguished for their services in the cause.*

* *Crown Point,* July 8th, 1776.

To his Excellency GENERAL SCHUYLER:

May it please your Excellency,

Sir:

We, whose names are hereto subscribed, field-officers of the several regiments in the Continental service, now at this place, beg leave, with the utmost respect, to acquaint your Excellency,

That when we have been heretofore called upon in a council of war to give our opinion respecting the propriety of a retreat from Canada, we were informed by the then commanding officer-in-chief, that the positive orders of the Continental Congress were to "dispute every inch of the ground in Canada."

That order we have complied with, so long as we, or our General (in council), thought would be most conducive to the public weal; and at the last council of war to which we were called, it was almost (if not quite) unanimously resolved to retreat to this place, and here make a stand against the ministerial army.

Had not General Washington approved of the action of the council, no notice would have been taken of their impertinent and unwarrantable proceedings, but he, in

Since, on arrival at this place, we have been informed by your Excellency "that the Honorable Continental Congress have ordered and directed the superiority of the lakes to be maintained;" also that the army are to be removed to Ticonderoga. We would not pretend to dictate to you, sir, or to the other Generals, what orders you should issue. Neither will we ever decline obeying them; but at the same time beg leave to remonstrate to your Excellency that the order for our removal to Ticonderoga appears to us to militate with both the foregoing orders of Congress, in the spirit (if not in the letter) of them, for the reasons following, viz.:

First.—We cannot but judge from our own observation of the ground here, that we can maintain it against any forces our enemy can send against us.

Secondly.—That this post appears to us to be the only one where we can maintain a Naval Superiority upon the lakes.

Thirdly.—That whenever we quit this post, we give our enemy an opportunity of taking possession of it, with all the advantages already made by former works, which it will be impossible for us ever to retake from them without an amazing expense of blood and treasures.

Fourthly.—By admitting the enemy to get the possession of this place it not only entirely destroys the communication with the lower parts of the lake, but opens a plain and easy passage for them into the Heart of the four New England governments and Frontiers of New York.

Fifthly.—Our retreat from this place to Ticonderoga must occasion the retiring of hundreds of families from their farms, and quitting their crops of grain, which would be much more than sufficient to maintain themselves, and drive them upon other towns, which must occasion a consumption of whatever could be spared for the public service, if not a famine amongst them.

Sixthly.—That this place will afford an asylum for the Savages, from which they may much easier make excursions upon the frontier settlements and secure their retreat.

Seventhly.—That the place to which we are ordered to remove has ever proved extremely unhealthy, and will tend to increase the distresses our army have labored under by reason of sickness.

These, sir, are some (of the many) reasons which we beg leave to offer to your Excellency's consideration, why we are not entirely easy with the determination of the general officers respecting our removal, and hope our zeal for the public good, which induces us to make these observations, will be a sufficient apology for this interruption

letters to both Schuyler and Gates, expressed his concern at the abandonment of Crown Point, as "a relinquishment of the lakes," and assured them that nothing but the fear of "creating dissensions and encouraging a spirit of remonstrance against the conduct of superior officers by inferiors," had prevented him, by the advice of his general officers, from directing the post at Crown Point to be held till Congress should decide upon the propriety of its evacuation. "As the case stands," he said to Gates, "I can give no order in the matter, lest between two opinions neither of the places should be put in such a position of defense as to resist an advancing enemy. I must, however, express my sorrow at the resolution of your council, and wish that it had never happened, as everybody who speaks of it also does, and that the measure could yet be changed with propriety."

To this letter Gates wrote an instant and spirited reply, telling General Washington that "it would be to the last degree improper to order reinforcements to Crown Point, until obliged by the most pressing emergency, as that would be only heaping one hospital upon another. Everything about the army," he said, "is infested with the pestilence [small-pox]; the clothes, the blankets, the air, and the ground they walk upon. To put this evil from us a general hospital is established at Fort George,

upon your public business, and that your Excellency will pay such regards hereto as the importance of the affair demands.

We are (with great esteem) your Excellency's most obedient humble servants:

NATHAN FULLER,	ENOCH POOR,	ISRAEL SHREVE,
ABNER MORGAN,	WM. MAXWELL,	SETH REED,
CHARLES BURWALL,	ELISHA PORTER,	JOSEPH VOSE,
NATHAN HALE,	JAMES REED,	JOTHAM LORING,
ISRAEL GILMAN,	WILLIAM BOND,	THOS. POOR,
JOHN GREATON,	JOSEPH CILLEY,	JOHN MOOR,
JOHN STARK, Colo.,	JOHN MCDUPPER,	DAVID RHEA.

where there are now between two and three thousand sick." * * * * "I must now take the liberty," Gates continued, "to animadvert a little upon the unprecedented behavior of the members of your council to their compeers in this Department. They, sir, having very ample supplies at hand, make no allowance for the misfortunes and wants of this army, nor for the delay and difficulty that attend the procuring of everything here. Had we a healthy army, four times the number of the enemy, our magazines full, our artillery complete, stores of every kind in profuse abundance, with vast and populous towns and country close at hand to supply our wants, your Excellency would hear no complaints from this army; and the members of your council, our brethren and compeers, would have as little reason then, as they have now, to censure the conduct of those who are in nothing inferior to themselves." Gates wrote in a similar strain to Congress.

Schuyler took the matter more to heart, and with reason, for he knew it was the work of his enemies. In a letter to Gates, at the German Flatts, on the 3d of August, after speaking of the consciousness of his inability to perform the duties laid upon him, and his strong desire expressed at the beginning of the campaign to retire from the military service, but which neither Congress nor the Commander-in-chief would listen to, he said:

"The implications contained in General Washington's letter of the 19th ult. to you is so very disadvantageous to us, that I very sincerely repent having deviated from my resolution to retire, but the opinion of his council that we had acted reprehensibly, without being informed what were the reasons on which we had founded our opinion of the propriety of the measure in question, is so insulting that I cannot sit patiently under it, and I, therefore, not only reflect with pleasure on the spirited and proper manner in which you have resented it to Congress and General Washington, but shall give to both my sentiments on the impropriety and injustice of convening one council of officers to

determine on the measures of another at the distance of near three hundred miles without calling for such information as we could have given them. It is incumbent on us, my dear sir, to do justice to our injured reputations: as it is our duty to go hand in hand in opposing the enemies of the public, so we ought heartily to join in defeating the insidious foes who basely aim at the destruction of our characters. We shall discover who he or they are, and I trust will be able to cover them with confusion."

To General Washington Schuyler wrote on the 6th of August:

"I am informed that a council of officers convened at New York, whether of their own accord, or by your Excellency's order, I am not advised, had decided that the council of general officers lately held at Crown Point had acted reprehensibly. In justice to myself and the other general officers who composed that council, I cannot pass by the extraordinary mode of proceeding without animadverting on it; for altho' I should grant that every officer that composed the council at New York had the most perfect knowledge of the country; that they were separately endowed with abilities vastly superior to those of the generals in this quarter taken in the aggregate, yet to assume a power of censuring us, even if we were their inferiors in rank, if convened in a Court Martial for the purpose of trying us, without hearing what we could say in support of our decision, is so injurious, so unjust, so extra-judicial that I have not the least doubt but that every man of candour will join us in deprecating the outrage; for altho' every individual in the community has a right to give his opinion on the conduct of the servants of the public, and altho' a superior officer has a right, nay ought to direct a change of measures, when he believes those adopted will be attended with dangerous consequences, and altho' a council may give their opinion on the propriety or impropriety of a measure referred to them for consideration, yet the superior officer in directing a change of measures, or a council in deciding that a measure was improper, ought not to convey an idea which supposes guilt until guilt is proved, and not even then, unless they had been constituted a tribunal for the purpose of deciding on the guilt or innocence of the party to be tried, and that the party supposed guilty had had an opportunity given him of being heard in his own defence; this we have not had, and yet our conduct is said to be reprehensible. I feel myself so deeply chagrined at this conduct that if my information is true, which your Excellency can determine, and which I entreat you to do as soon as possible, I cannot, consistent with my honor, remain in the army, unless the council at New York are censured for the assertion, by Congress or your Excellency, or unless, conscious of the impropriety of their conduct towards us, they make a candid and full acknowledgement thereof. And permit me to beg you to lay copy of

this letter with copy of mine of the 24th ult. before Congress, that they may see on what I founded my opinion for the removal of the army to Ticonderoga,* and what idea I have of the injury the general officers who composed the council at Crown Point have sustained."

* Washington had already written to Schuyler, saying that he thought the situation of Crown Point was "of the utmost importance, especially if we mean to keep the superiority and mastery of the lake," and that "if it is abandoned by us, it is natural to suppose that the enemy will possess it, and if they do that, then our vessels will be in their rear, and it will not be in our power to bring them to Ticonderoga or the post opposite it." Upon these remarks Schuyler observed that Crown Point lies about forty-three miles from the extreme south part of Lake Champlain, which is at Skenesborough, and about one hundred from the northern extreme, which is at St. John's. The part of the Lake south of Crown Point is seldom in any place above two miles wide. From Crown Point to about eighteen miles north of it, it may be at a medium about three and half miles, three and four being the extremes, beyond that for about fifty-six miles it is seldom less than six or more than fourteen or fifteen, but a chain of Islands, running nearly parallel to the sides of the Lake, lie in the broadest part and nearly in the middle, so that the width on each side is about six miles.

Let us now suppose our Navy to be in any part of the Lake to the northward of and out of the reach of the cannon that may be at Crown Point, and these attacked by the enemy, what assistance can it receive from any fortification at the point? None, surely, and if worsted it must fly to the south side of Crown Point for shelter, and the enemy have the entire mastery of the Lake. If Crown Point was totally abandoned, and if the Navy was attacked and worsted in any part to the northward of Ticonderoga, whether in sight of that place or towards the north end of the Lake, the consequences are exactly the same. It must retire to the south of where the army is.

If we abandon Crown Point, that the enemy will possess themselves of it is certain, *if they can do it*, but if we suppose they can, we must not only suppose that they can and will pass our fleet, altho' theirs should be inferior, or that they must have a naval superiority. If they can pass our fleet anywhere beyond Crown Point; their army can attack ours at Crown Point, if it is there, or at Ticonderoga if there; in either case our ships will be in the rear.

But supposing they could and would, by some means or other, frustrate our intentions in having a Navy in the Lake (which intention appears to be to prevent any boats coming up), and pass by it, altho' superior to theirs. Is it probable they will do it? Will they risk the danger they may run if a fair wind should enable our ships to get up with them? Will they risk an interception of their sup-

To Congress Schuyler again wrote on the 7th of August:

"That an ignorant multitude, instigated not only by my own enemies, but by those of the country, should have been instigated to traduce my character is not very surprising, and I had already made myself easy on that score, but a late transaction of a council of officers held at New York is so injurious that I have found it necessary to resent it in a letter to General Washington, copy of which I have requested his Excellency to lay before Congress."

On the 16th he again wrote to Congress:

"If my character has been so barbarously traduced, and the miscarriages in Canada so generally attributed to malconduct in me, it somewhat alleviates the chagrin I feel, that Congress has appointed a committee to "inquire into the causes of the miscarriage in Canada." But as I am confident the misfortunes in Canada are to be imputed to more causes than those mentioned in the Resolutions of the 30th ult.,* and as I wish that my conduct should undergo the strictest scrutiny, Congress will therefore permit me to entreat them to charge the committee above mentioned, or to appoint another minutely to inquire how far, if at all, any of the miscarriages in Canada are to be imputed to me. If I am the cause of them let me meet with the detestation of my fellow citizens; if not, and others are, let the public resentment be transferred to the proper object; for my part, I am amply furnished with materials to exculpate myself. I shall court the most ordeal trial; nay, altho' conscious of the mediocrity of my talents and that I am vastly inadequate to the important command I am honored with, yet on this occasion, I may be allowed to say, that I do not believe that I shall be even convicted of an error in judgment. Permit me to add, with all due submission to Congress, that I conceive

plies and a prevention of retreat in case of a repulse? I think not; but if their Navy is superior, the keeping possession of the Lake is impossible, and then the question recurs, where is the best place to make a stand, with the greatest prospect of advantage to us. I think that place to be Ticonderoga and the grounds opposite to it. I may be mistaken; the only view I had in giving my opinion for removing the army to these places was that I thought it would there most advance the interests of the cause we are engaged in. Altho' I do not recollect that in the resolution of the general officers to move the army from Crown Point that is observed that a small post was to be kept there, from whence our vessels might be supplied more readily than from Ticonderoga, yet that was determined on.

* The committee reported it as their opinion that the short enlistments of Continental troops, the want of hard money and the prevalence of the small-pox had been the chief causes for the miscarriages in Canada.

they too are wounded thro' my side; for, if I am not misinformed, many already wonder why an officer so generally charged with misconduct is continued in so important a post. This also makes it necessary that an inquiry should be made into my conduct. It is also of the first importance to the public service whilst I continue to command an army; for the event of the inquiry will be a conviction or acquittal; if the former I shall be dismissed at least, if the latter that confidence will be re-established which it is so indispensably necessary that an army should have in its general, and which I know is in a great measure now destroyed by insidious insinuations industriously propagated by a set of miscreants."

To General Arnold he wrote on the 17th of August:

"General Gates will show you an extract of my letters to General Washington, on the subject of evacuating Crown Point, and on the decision of the council of officers at New York.

"We have been treated in the most cavalier manner by that council, and unless satisfaction is given, I shall most certainly retire from the army. I can no longer put up with a series of abuses, and bear undeserved odium, and as I find that my character has been most infamously aspersed in every part of the country, and all the misfortunes in Canada attributed to me, I have entreated Congress for a more minute inquiry into my conduct."

To General Washington he wrote on the 18th:

"I have entreated Congress to cause a minute inquiry to be made into my conduct, and I trust, if it is done, that I shall not only be honorably acquitted, but that judicious men will discover in me the honest man and the faithful American; but as envy, even in that case, will not cease, or malevolence withhold its slander, I am determined to quit the army as soon as my conduct has been enquired into, and evince myself in private life, what I have strove to do in public, the friend of my injured country."

Schuyler continued to urge Congress to appoint a committee to investigate the charges against him, which he now heard repeated on every side. That body postponed the duty, until, on the 14th of September, the vilified commander, in accordance with his already expressed determination, formally offered his resignation as "major-general in the army of the American States, and all and every other office or appointment which he had been honored with by the Honorable Continental Congress." He

declared that he did not, by that step, mean to decline or elude any inquiry into his conduct which Congress might thereafter be pleased to make. "On the contrary," he said, "it is a duty I owe to myself, to my family and to the respectable Congress of this State, by whose recommendation, unsolicited by me, Congress, I believe, was induced to honor me with a command, that I should exculpate myself from the many odious charges with which the country resounds to my prejudice. I trust I shall be able fully to do it, to the confusion of my enemies and their abettors, but, aggrieved as I am, my countrymen will find that I shall not be influenced by any unbecoming resentment, but that I will readily persevere to fulfil the duties of a good citizen, and try to promote the weal of my native country by every effort in my power."

Schuyler's friends, and the true friends of the country, were alarmed and distressed by the possibility of his being driven to a resignation of his offices, for they knew how much depended upon him. The Convention of the State of New York had taken action in the matter; and so early as the 26th of September, Philip Livingston wrote to the convention from Philadelphia that its letter and resolves concerning General Schuyler's resignation had been committed to the consideration of Messrs. Rutledge, Hooper and McKean. "Yesterday," Leonard Gansevoort, a member of the New York Convention, wrote to Schuyler on the 3d of October, "Mr. Robert R. Livingston reported to the convention the causes which induced your resignation, at which, I can declare to you, many of the members were startled, having never been informed of any of them; and I am extremely happy that I can assure you that I do not know of a member in our convention,

attending at present, possessed of a prejudice against you. * * * * Mr. Cuyler, in Hartford, makes very free with your character."

Robert R. Livingston wrote at the same time:

"Before I got here I received letters from Philadelphia, one of which, from Rutledge, expresses much resentment at your treatment, approves the step you have taken, and most ardently wishes to see you at Congress. He presses me in the following terms to come down: 'That you or Jay, or both of you, will immediately on the receipt of this set out for this place; little less than the salvation of your State will depend on your presence.' In another place he adds: 'I repeat it, you cannot render your country as much service in any other way whatever as by coming to us immediately, and bringing with you Jay and Schuyler.'

"What he alludes to I cannot say positively, tho' I can in part guess. I have not seen Jay, but have little hopes of his being prevailed on to go, as his wife is now here and very unwell. With respect to myself, I have such a variety both of public and private reasons to detain me that I cannot as yet leave this. If things are in such a state in the Northern Department as to admit of your absence, I could wish you to make a short visit to Philadelphia, not that I think you will be able long to remain there, as matters are now in such a train as will again, I hope, enable you, with honor, to act in a Department from which I cannot consent (either on your own account, or that of the public) to see you dismiss yourself.

"Our resolutions, a copy of which I showed you, are committed by Congress to gentlemen that will do you justice; for two of them at least I will answer. The Committee are Rutledge, Hooper and McKean."

Congress took action at once; and President Hancock—in a letter to Schuyler on the 27th of September, in which he mentioned the measures they had resolved upon for an increase and reorganization of the army, on the basis of engaging troops to serve during the continuance of the war, instead of by short enlistments as hitherto—assured him that his complaints and wishes would be at once attended to, and that the matter was then in the hands of a special committee. Hancock also informed Schuyler that a committee of Congress had been ap-

pointed to confer with him on the state of the army, and would set out on the morrow. A few days afterward (October 2d) Congress

Resolved, "That the President write to General Schuyler, and inform him that Congress cannot consent, during the present situation of their affairs, to accept of his resignation, but request that he continue the command which he now holds; that he be assured that the aspersions which his enemies have thrown out against his character have had no influence upon the minds of the members of this house, who are fully satisfied of his attachments to the cause of freedom, and are willing to bear their testimony of the many services which he has rendered to his country; and that, in order effectually to put calumny to silence, they will, at an early day, appoint a committee of their own body to inquire fully into his conduct, which they trust will establish his reputation in the opinion of all good men."

In his letter to Schuyler, transmitting this resolution, President Hancock said: "The unmerited reproaches of ignorance and mistaken zeal are infinitely overbalanced by the satisfaction arising from a conscious integrity. As long, therefore, as you can wrap yourself in your innocence, I flatter myself you will not pay so great a regard to the calumnies of your enemies as to deprive your country of any services which you may have it in your power to render her."

Ths action of Congress, accompanied as it was by the appointment of a committee to confer, not with General Schuyler, but with General Gates, upon what was proper to be done in that Department, highly exasperated the former, and he uttered his honest indignation in the ears of his friends, without choosing soft words as its vehicle of communication. To General Scott he wrote on the 13th of October:

"I have suffered such brutal outrage from Congress that every gentleman who has ever honored me with his friendship ought to blush for me if I did not resent it. The treatment I have experienced puts it out of my power to hold any office, the appointment to which

must be made by Congress. A late instance of their conduct towards me is equally replete with brutality and folly: they have sent up a committee to confer with my inferior officer upon what is proper to be done in this Department, and resolved that they will not consent to my resignation. If they could, by a resolve, annihilate all sensibility in me their conduct would not be exposed to public view, which I am resolved it shall be as soon as it can be done without prejudice to my dear country.

"I shall be extremely happy to pass a few days with you, and propose doing myself that pleasure as soon as I can get rid of my cockade, which I hope will be in a few days."

To Robert R. Livingston he wrote:

"I am much obliged by your favor of the 7th inst., nor am I less so to Mr. Rutledge for his friendly intentions. The resolution is however extremely exceptionable after what has passed in Congress with regard to me. I wish you to add another obligation to the many I am already in your debt, and to thank Rutledge for his kindness, and to entreat him to take nothing personally that I shall say in my remarks on that resolution as soon as it is officially handed to me, for I am resolved severely to animadvert not only on that, but on the ungentlemanly conduct of Congress. Will you believe that Mr. Clymer and Mr. Stockton were ordered to repair to Ticonderoga to confer with General Gates? They arrived here on Friday evening, dined and supped with me yesterday, but have not opened their lips on any public business; that is to be transacted with my inferior officer under my very nose. A more brutal insult could not be offered, an insult which I will not bear with impunity from any body of men on earth. Altho' I am fired with the highest resentment at the ill usage, I must entreat you to not be alarmed, as I shall steadily make the good of my country my first object, and thus heap more coals on the head of my enemies."

Meanwhile important events had occurred in other portions of the theatre of war. Early in June a fleet under Admiral Sir Peter Parker, who had been sent to operate with it against the seaport towns of the southern colonies, and had joined Sir Henry Clinton at Cape Fear, in May, appeared off Charleston bar. At the same time Clinton had landed several hundred men on Long Island; and on the 28th of that month an attack had been made by the fleet upon Fort Sullivan, on Sullivan's Island, commanded

by Colonel Moultrie. For ten hours the battle raged severely, and only ceased when night closed in. The British fleet, shattered almost into fragments, withdrew and abandoned the attempt. Taking Clinton's troops on board the vessels that could sail, the fleet bore away for New York, where the land forces joined those of General Howe then on Staten Island.

This was followed by the Declaration of Independence, and that by a severe battle on Long Island, opposite New York, at the close of August, between the British forces under Howe, assisted by Generals Clinton and Cornwallis, and Kynphausen of the German troops, and the Americans under Washington, assisted by Generals Putnam, Green, Mifflin, Stirling, Sullivan and others. The battle was fought chiefly upon ground now occupied by the city of Brooklyn and its immediate suburbs, and Greenwood Cemetery. That was on the 27th of August. The conflict was severe. The Americans were beaten, with a loss of about five hundred killed or wounded, and eleven hundred made prisoners. Among the latter were Generals Lord Stirling and Sullivan. Washington skilfully withdrew the remainder of his troops on the night of the 29th and morning of the 30th, under cover of a dense fog, and took post on Harlem Heights, at the northern part of York or Manhattan Island. They were followed by the British, who used every endeavor to get in the rear of the American forces, so as to penetrate the country by way of the Hudson River, and meet Burgoyne, who was to come down from Canada, and so complete the isolation of the New England States, according to the plan of the British ministry.*

* See page 16.

These attempts were fruitless. The battle at White Plains, about twenty-five miles north of New York, on the 28th of October, was the consequence, and the capture of Fort Washington, on Harlem Heights, on the 16th of November, was an incident. Washington was driven into East Jersey, pursued by Cornwallis to the banks of the Delaware, at Trenton, and the remainder of the British army, abandoning the idea of a winter campaign up the Hudson, remained quietly in New York during the cold season. Sir Peter Parker sailed with his broken squadron to Rhode Island, entered Narraganset Bay, and on the 8th of December blockaded the American flotilla under Commodore Hopkins, then lying near Providence. That officer had lately performed gallant service on the ocean, but having departed from his instructions, had been censured by the Congress. He ran his little squadron into Narraganset Bay, when he was dismissed from the service.

CHAPTER VI.

While British and German troops were trying to penetrate the country northward from the sea-board, another division of British and German troops were endeavoring to penetrate it southward from Canada. The German troops in both divisions, commonly called "Hessians," formed a very important element in the campaign of that year, and were regarded by the Americans as particularly obnoxious, because they were mercenaries—fighting only for pay. They had been hired by the British government at the close of 1775 and beginning of 1776, from the reigning governors of Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Hanau, Brunswick, Anhalt, Anspach and Waldeck. The contracting parties were governed by the common law of trade that regulates supply and demand. England needed troops; the German States needed money. The former had the money and the latter had the troops, which in time of peace were a heavy burden upon the resources of the princes. England had already been an ally of Hessia and Brunswick, and expected to be again in the event of war. These considerations made the bargain a natural one, on the principles of business, whatever may be said of the morality of the undertaking and the methods used in consummating it.

After some hasty preliminary negotiations, England

engaged sixteen thousand nine hundred German troops, the most of whom were well-trained soldiers. Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Hanau and Brunswick concluded a common subsidiary treaty with the crown of England, which was made public in the English and German languages, at Frankfort and Leipsic. These troops were to constitute a corps made up of four battalions of grenadiers, each of four companies; fifteen battalions of infantry of five companies each, and two companies of yagers, all to be well equipped with the implements of war. Of these, three battalions of grenadiers, six battalions of infantry, and one company of yagers were to be ready on the 13th of February [1776] to begin the march to Stade, in Hanover, where the troops were to embark: the remainder were to follow four weeks later.

This treaty was signed by Colonel William Fawcet, on the part of the British crown, with the ministers of the three powers above named; that of Brunswick on the 9th of January, 1776; that of Hesse-Cassel on the 13th of January, and of Hesse-Hanau on the 5th of February. It was an offensive and defensive alliance, the King of England promising, in case of an attack upon the domains of these princes, to protect them. Similar treaties were made with the princes of Anhalt, Anspach, and Waldeck, whose troops went first to New York.

These German troops were all to take the oath of allegiance to the British monarch, without its interfering with their oaths of allegiance to their respective sovereigns. The princes were to receive for each soldier thirty thalers (about twenty-two and a half dollars) as a bounty, to be paid in two instalments—one-third of the amount one month after the signing of the treaty, and the remainder two months subsequently. The bounty was also to be

paid for those who might be killed. England agreed to make restitution for the loss of all men in engagements, during sieges, by contagious diseases, and while being transported in ships. In the agreement with the Duke of Brunswick, reinforcements were to be sent by him, and those offices which might become vacant were to be filled by him, who also retained the right of administering justice among his soldiers. To refund extra expenses, on account of the haste with which the troops had to be raised, England agreed to furnish two months' pay before the marching of the men, and also to defray all expenses of transportation from the day on which they began their march. The annual subsidy for Brunswick (and it was similar for the other states) was regulated in the following manner: "It shall begin with the day of the signing of the present treaty, and shall be simple, that is—it shall amount to sixty-four thousand five hundred German thalers, as long as these troops receive pay. From the time that these troops cease to receive pay, the subsidy shall be doubled, that is it shall consist of twenty-nine thousand German thalers. The double subsidy shall continue for two years after the return of said troops into the dominions of his Excellency."* This subsidy, together with the bounty and the subsistence, transportation and pay of the troops, amounted to a large sum. The German princes, seeing England's necessity, drove a hard bargain. Lord George Germaine and Lord Barrington, of the ministry, were compelled to admit that the terms were made by the princes themselves and the necessity compelled ministers to accept.

The German troops destined for Canada were embarked at Stade, late in March, in forty-six vessels, and

* See Memoirs, and Letters and Journals of Major-general Riedesel translated from the original German by William L. Stone.

were composed, according to the statement of Anthony Hasselabend, of Riedesel's dragoons (who deserted from Montreal), of two thousand Hessians, three thousand Brunswickers, and three thousand Westphalians, the latter all Roman Catholics.* As we have seen, these troops, with English soldiers, and all under the supreme command of General Carleton, had, early in June, driven the Americans out of Canada, and taken post at St. John's, on the Sorel, in July. There they found, in the nature of the country and the activity of the American troops in building war vessels on Lake Champlain, insuperable obstacles to their speedy junction with Howe, whom they supposed to be coming up from New York. They found it necessary also to build a navy before they could move forward, and for a while both parties worked most assiduously at that business, one for offensive and the other for defensive operations.

Meanwhile General Carleton employed every means in his power to entice the savages to join the British army. On the 24th of June he held a council with the chiefs of several tribes, in the old church of the Jesuits, at Mon treal, wherein as great a display as possible was made. The high chair was covered with carpets, and in the centre sat Carleton in a great arm-chair, surrounded by his officers, while three hundred savages, with lighted pipes, sat upon benches near; each tribe having its own interpreter into French, and Carleton his own into English. The best of feeling was manifested, and all the Indians present engaged their people to join the British in arms for one year, and had their posts assigned them. The night was spent in a great carousal—feasting and dancing;

* MS. account of the examination of Hasselabend, Sept. 5, 1776.

and this continued several days. They decorated Generals Carleton, Burgoyne and Phillips with scalps of "rebels" whom they had killed. "I am very happy," Riedesel wrote to Duke Ferdinand, "to be under the command of General Carleton. He manifests such a contempt for the Rebels that I feel sure that we shall soon attack and get the best of them."*

To gain the supremacy on Lakes Champlain and George, and to recover the posts of Crown Point, Ticonderoga and Fort George, now became the first important business to which Carleton and Burgoyne addressed themselves. They had the advantages of good naval constructors, in the fleet at Quebec and the ship-yards there, and in the efficient aid of the home government. The admiralty contributed naval equipments and materials for ship-building in abundance; and three ships of war, fully equipped for service, were sent from British ship-yards, with the expectation that they might be dragged up the rapids of the Sorel to St. John's, where a channel deep enough for them led into Lake Champlain. And while these preparations were a-making the troops were trained in the methods of American instead of European warfare. They were taught how to fight in woods, and with savages, as sharp-shooters; and large numbers were exercised in rowing and other nautical operations, to prepare them to act as seamen in the fleet if necessary, while four hundred Indians, who were to form the van of the flotilla on the lake, were trained for that service. The three vessels were hauled on shore, to be taken around the rapids at Chamblée, but the work proving to be too slow and expensive, they were taken in pieces and reconstructed at St. John's.

* Stone's "Memoir's," etc., page 46.

The Americans, meanwhile, had been very busy. They had the advantage only in point of time, for their most expert ship-builders were employed on the sea-board constructing privateers and regular war ships for the Continental navy. A large number were thus employed under the charge of Messrs. Van Zandt and Tudor, at Poughkeepsie, about seventy-three miles up the Hudson; yet enough were spared to lead less expert workmen, and, as we have seen, the business of constructing a fleet went on with marvellous celerity in August and September. Scouts were continually out watching the progress of affairs at St. John's, and reporting instantly to Arnold upon the condition of the fleet, by which he was enabled to know how strong it would be necessary to make his own in order to cope with his enemy. These scouts were generally active and bold, and sometimes extended their operations beyond the letter and spirit of their instructions. Such was the case with Lieut. Benjamin Whitcomb, who had been sent to reconnoitre St. John, and who, from an ambush, deliberately shot Brigadier-general Gordon of the British regulars, late in July.* This act, together with a defiant document received from Congress a few days afterward, in which they declared it impossible

* Riedesel, speaking of the death of Gordon, says: "While returning, on the 25th [July], through some woods, and when but two and a half leagues distant from La Prairie, he was severely wounded in the right arm and shoulder, by two balls from a concealed foe. He fell from his horse and was afterwards found by a soldier of the 21st regiment. He was at once carried to Colonel Hamilton's, at St. Jacob, and remained there until his death, which occurred soon after. This happened in the rear of the British troops. It was never known who killed him." Benedict Arnold, in an autograph letter dated Ticonderoga, August 10, 1776, says: "Major Bigelow further advises that Brigadier-general Gordon was lately killed between St. John and Chamblée by one Lieutenant Whitcomb, who was lately sent to St. John to reconnoitre. Bigelow, also went scouting."

for the British to subdue them, so exasperated Burgoyne, who was acting for the absent Carleton, that he issued an almost savage general order, in which he said:

"All commanders of regiments are requested to inform their officers, sub-officers and privates, that no more letters will be accepted from rebels who have taken up arms against their king; and if any more delegates from this mob dare to approach our pickets, excepting as supplicants for mercy, they shall be at once arrested and imprisoned in order to be punished for their crime. All letters, even if directed to the commander-in-chief, shall be delivered unopened to the provost, and burned by the hangman."

Toward the close of August, the impatient and impetuous Arnold could no longer wait for the British to advance, but went down the lake with his flotilla, under positive instructions from General Gates not to go below *Isle aux Tetes*, near what is now called Rouse's Point, close by the dividing line between the United States and Canada. Four miles above that point he halted to reconnoitre, and placed his vessels in a line across the lake to prevent any boats of the enemy passing up. He soon perceived that his position was a dangerous one, for the British and Indians were rapidly collecting on both shores, so he fell back about ten miles to *Isle La Motte*, where the lake was wider and he need not fear any attack from the main land. There he remained some time, and as we have observed, he found his fleet considerably increased early in October. Yet he was not fully informed of the strength of the enemy's flotilla at that time, and so he fell further back, and without skill or forethought he stretched his line of vessels across the channel, between the western shore of Valcour's Island and the main land, and there anchored. This absurd movement, and one which proved to be disastrous, was made with the full concurrence of Gates, who was as ignorant of nautical affairs as was Arnold himself. The latter had courage, but very little

judgment, and his egotism acting in concert with his bravery sometimes made him successful almost in spite of himself. Had Colonel Waterbury, his second in command, or even Commodore Wynkoop, been master of the expedition, they would never have committed the blunder which this anchoring of the little fleet displayed. The enemy saw it and at once took advantage of the situation. They had rebuilt the ship (the *Inflexible*) which they had taken apart at the rapids, in twenty-eight days after the keel was relaid, and she was now ready, a stately craft with three masts, and carrying twenty twelve-pounders, and ten smaller guns.

On the morning of the 4th of October Carleton began a cautious advance from St. John's, with his land and water forces. Notwithstanding his frequent expressions of "contempt for the rebels," no man was more loath than he to measure strength with them, unless he was well assured of his superiority in number and arms. It was not until the 10th that his whole fleet was in motion. The land troops, English and German, were advanced to La Colle, and General Burgoyne, with the English and German brigades, was stationed on the *Isle aux Noix*, where they established magazines and dépôts.

The British fleet was composed of the *Inflexible*, whose weight of metal has been mentioned; *Lady Mary*, of fourteen guns, the *Carleton*, of twelve guns, a gondola of twelve guns; another vessel of twelve guns, captured from the Americans; a floating battery called the *Radeau*, carrying six twenty-four-pounders and ten twelve-pounders; ten gun-boats carrying three cannons each, and numerous smaller craft. The British had twice as many vessels as the Americans could offer, and twice the weight of metal, with skilled seamen pitted against half-disciplined landsmen.

With this formidable fleet Carleton, with Captain Edward Pringle, in the *Inflexible*, as commodore, appeared off Cumberland Head on the morning of the 11th of October, and passing between Grand and Valcour's Islands, in the broader channel of the lake, soon gained Arnold's rear. The latter immediately perceived the magnitude of his blunder and the peril of his situation, but it was too late to avoid the consequences, either by a retreat or by changing his position. He, therefore, exercised that audacity which had carried him over several perils, formed a line for action, and in his flag-ship, the *Royal Savage*, supported by three row-galleys, he bore down upon his enemy with a favorable wind, which kept the *Inflexible* off beyond gunshot distance. But the *Carleton*, assisted by gun-boats, got into action by attacking the *Royal Savage* at meridian.

The American galleys were driven back; the *Royal Savage* was soon crippled, and in attempting to return to the line she fell to leeward and was stranded on Valcour's Island; where she was burned. Arnold and his crew all made their escape to the *Congress*. In the meantime the *Carleton* beat up to within musket-shot of the American line and opened fire on both her sides. She was well supported by gun-boats, one of which was soon sunk by shots from the *Congress*, on which Arnold was compelled to act as gunner, and pointed every cannon that was fired. She was terribly bruised in every part. Her main-mast and yards were splintered; she was hulled twelve times, and was hit seven times between wind and water. All the officers of the gondola *New York*, excepting her Captain, were killed or wounded; and the *Washington* was most severely handled. The *Carleton*, too, was terribly pounded. Dacres, her Captain, was felled by a blow; Brown, a lieu-

tenant of marines, lost an arm, and Edward Pellew, then only nineteen years of age (afterward the celebrated Admiral Viscount Exmouth), who succeeded to the command, carried on the fight most dexterously to prevent the escape of Arnold. Meanwhile the enemy had landed a body of Indians on Valcour's Island, which kept up an incessant but almost harmless fire of musketry upon the American vessels. The battle raged between four and five hours, when night closed upon the scene, the firing ceased, and neither party was victorious. The Americans lost about sixty men, killed and wounded, and the British about forty. The two shattered fleets anchored within a few hundred yards of each other.

When all was quiet, Arnold called a council of officers, when it was determined by himself, Waterbury and Wigglesworth, who were his chief assistants, to attempt a retreat to Crown Point. The British commander, in anticipation of such a movement, anchored his vessels in a line across the way of retreat, between Valcour's Island and the main, and felt confident that he would have in his possession every "rebel" vessel in the morning. But he had a wary, vigilant and desperate foe to deal with. It was at the time of the new moon, and a chilly wind from the north brought down a thick haze, which made the night extremely dark. At ten o'clock Wigglesworth, who commanded the *Trumbull*, hoisted anchor and led the retreat, followed by the gondolas; Waterbury, in the *Washington*, followed them, and the rear was brought up by Arnold, in the *Congress*. Having a fair wind, they slipped through an opening in the enemy's line near the left wing unobserved, and when the morning dawned the British officers could not believe their eyes when they could not see a "rebel" vessel in sight, up or down the

lake. They were at Schuyler's Island, ten miles south of Valcour's, where they were engaged in stopping leaks and repairing sails.

Carleton was greatly mortified when he found that his foes had escaped, and ordered an immediate pursuit of them. For a while the movement was active, when the wind started up from the south and retarded both pursuer and pursued. All night long the stiff southerly breeze made the flight a dubious one. At a little past noon the next day, the wind changed suddenly to the north, striking the British sails first and impelling them rapidly onward. Waterbury proposed to run the *Washington* ashore and burn her, but Arnold hoped for a chance to give battle, and refused his permission to do so. Near Split Rock the *Washington* was overtaken and captured, but Arnold, with the *Congress* and four gondolas, kept up a running fight for five hours, suffering great loss. Finally, when the *Congress* was almost a wreck, he ran his vessels into a small creek in Panton, on the eastern shore of the lake, about ten miles below Crown Point, where he set them on fire while their flags were streaming at the mast heads. Arnold remained on board the *Congress* until driven away by the fire, when, like his companions, he waded ashore, and with the remnant of his little force marched rapidly through the woods to Chimney Point, and reached Crown Point, opposite, in safety. But for his rapid march he would have fallen into an Indian ambush, laid in his path an hour after he passed by. At Crown Point he found two schooners, two galleys, one sloop and one gondola—all that remained of his proud little fleet; and on the next day General Waterbury and most of his men arrived there on parole, when all embarked for Ticonderoga. The Americans lost in the two actions

about ninety men, and the British not quite half that number.

General Carleton took possession of Crown Point on the 14th of October, as master of the lake, and there had rumors of the result of the battle on Long Island. He was within two hours' sail of Ticonderoga, which was garrisoned by only about three thousand effective men, with twenty-four hundred upon Mount Independence opposite. It might have been easily taken by the force that Carleton then had at his command, but he was too cautious to undertake such an enterprise so late in the season, and he announced to General Riedesel, who joined him on the 22d, his intention to take the army back into Canada for winter-quarters. Riedesel, who went so near Ticonderoga as to see the post from a hill-top, and also Burgoyne, to whom Carleton had earlier given orders for withdrawing the troops, were anxious to complete the conquest of the lakes at once, by taking possession of that post. But Carleton, who had not yet received official notice of the success of the British on Long Island, and felt sure of making Ticonderoga an easy prey in the spring, and so open gloriously the next campaign, would not consent. So he abandoned Crown Point on the 3d of November, and lost the best opportunity he had been favored with for gaining renown. That opportunity was gone forever, for already the decree had gone out from the British ministry that he should be superseded in the command by Burgoyne. But with that decree went forth another from the king, giving him the honor of wearing the order of a knight of Bath. That order was presented to him by Lady Mary his wife, at Montreal, when he was on his way from St. John's to Quebec.

The British abandoned Crown Point just at the time

when the garrison at Ticonderoga was the weakest, being short of provisions, and the time of service of some of the troops was just expiring. There was not, on the day of Carleton's retrograde movement, a single barrel of flour at Ticonderoga. Now, relieved of danger, by what the Americans regarded as a shameful and unaccountable flight, the Connecticut militia soon returned home, and the garrison of Ticonderoga, left by Gates under the command of the gallant young Pennsylvanian, Colonel Anthony Wayne, consisted nominally of twenty-five hundred men. But of these a great many were sick, and perishing for want of clothing. The terms of the Pennsylvania troops would expire in a few weeks, and they would not reënlist until after they should visit their homes. So, at the end of 1776, the lakes were really at the mercy of the British, and the campaign ended with a loss of all territory acquired since Allen took Ticonderoga in May, 1775, and quite a formidable fleet. The determined courage, bravery and persistence of Arnold during his close contest with the enemy so completely covered his blunders in judgment before the action, that he was regarded as the hero of the Northern Army, while the British magnified the affair into a great naval victory for themselves. Captain Dacres, who contributed so much to the success of the British fleet, had the honor of being sent to England to carry the tidings of victory to the ears of the king; and General Carleton, who had really contributed very little personally toward achieving what had been wrought in actual conflict, was lauded as a conspicuous conqueror. He had done rare service in preparing for the result, for in three months he had, by great energy as an executive officer, caused to be built a navy from timber felled in the forest and drawn long distances, and with this the flotilla of the insurgent colonists had been destroyed or captured.

So soon as General Schuyler heard of the disasters on the lakes, he put forth all his energies to send reinforcements to Ticonderoga. He ordered the militia of New York and the neighboring states to be forthwith put in motion toward that place. He made the most patriotic appeals to conventions and committees, asking them to make immediate and strenuous exertions in behalf of their imperilled country. He advised General Gates to have a strong boom constructed across the lake, from Ticonderoga to Mount Independence, to prevent the ships of the enemy getting in his rear, a work that appears to have been immediately accomplished, for on the 24th of October Arnold wrote to Schuyler: "A boom will be laid across the lake this day, and a bridge to-morrow from Ticonderoga to Mount Independence."

In every way Schuyler labored incessantly for the cause. At that moment he was suffering severely from an attack of gout, and was smarting under the injustice of Congress, in the matter of appointing a committee to confer with General Gates instead of himself, the superior officer, upon matters pertaining to the Northern Department, to which reference has already been made. But in the presence of great public danger, he only said to Congress, after acknowledging the receipt of the resolution of the 2d of October: "At this very critical juncture I shall waive those remarks which, in justice to myself, I must make at a future day. The calumny of my enemies has arisen to its height. Their malice is incapable of heightening the injury. I wish, for the sake of human nature, that they had not succeeded so well; I wish they not been countenanced by the transactions of those whose duty it was to have supported me. In the alarming situation of our affairs I shall continue to act some time longer, but

Congress must prepare to put the care of this Department into other hands. I shall be able to render my country better services in another line, less exposed to a repetition of the injuries I have sustained."

There was a powerful faction in Congress at that time, who had resolved to place General Gates in command of the Northern Department, but who dared not openly to advocate the removal of General Schuyler, for his great usefulness was too apparent to be hidden from the public view. They knew his extreme sensitiveness to everything that touched his reputation, and hoped that the calumnies which some of them were not anxious to refute, together w th inattention to his complaints, on the part of Congress, so long as it was possible for them to prevent it, might so disgust him that he would resign. They little knew the depths of his patriotic zeal who counted upon his leaving the service while his duties to his country commanded him to remain; and we have seen him at certain junctures anxious to retire, but induced to continue in the service merely from a sense of duty. But now, having just been informed of the action of Congress in August, in which that body formally declared that General Wooster, while in command of the army in Canada, did nothing blameworthy, and so gave Schuyler's enemies a license for declaring that his complaints against the veteran had been unjust, and that he was responsible for failures in Canada; and the late appointment of a committee to confer with Gates instead of himself, which gave further occasion to his enemies to declare him incompetent, appeared so much like insult to him, that Schuyler asked for permission to repair to Philadelphia to have an investigation into his whole conduct since he was appointed to the command of the Northern Department.

This request was answered on the 9th of November, when the President of Congress wrote to him, saying: "The situation of the Northern Army being at this juncture, extremely critical, and your services in that Department of the highest use and importance, the Congress wish for a continuance of your influence and abilities on behalf of your country. They have, however, agreeably to your request, consented that you should repair to this city whenever, in your opinion, the service will admit of your absence." General Gates was permitted to visit Philadelphia shortly afterward, ostensibly on account of his health, which rapidly improved after his arrival there. He was the object of much attention, and had frequent secret communications with New England delegates upon subjects whereof no revelations were made.

Meanwhile Congress continued to address General Schuyler as one whom they did not expect to leave his post, for they had too often experienced his devotion to his country to believe that he would come down to their Chambers, in person, and demand a redress of his grievances, so long as one enemy to that country demanded his attention—and such was the case. He continued to write urgent letters asking Congress to strengthen the posts on the lake not only with men, but by every measure in their power. And to Messrs. Stockton and Clymer, a committee of Congress, he made the following communication on the 8th of November:

"Agreeable to your request, I do myself the honor to communicate to you my opinion of what preparations I conceive necessary to be made the ensuing winter, and what measures to be adopted effectually to prevent the enemy from penetrating into this country by the northern or western communication. If the enemy are not able to dislodge our troops from Ticonderoga, or penetrate to the Mohawk River, this fall, they will probably attempt an expedition in the winter, Canada being able to furnish them with such a number of

sleds as will suffice to transport all their artillery and provisions, if their number should be ten thousand, nor will our garrisons of Ticonderoga or Fort George be any obstacle, as they can easily pass by the former in sleds at such a distance as to be out of reach of our cannon, and the latter is too insignificant to make any resistance, so as much to retard their progress ; it is therefore of the last importance that as much of the army as can be kept together should be cantoned in the vicinity of this place, of which the enemy will be informed, and it will probably deter them from the attempt; but should they remain quiet in Canada until next spring, it is reasonable to suppose that they will then make the most vigorous exertions to penetrate either by Ticonderoga, or what is much more likely, by Fort Stanwix : both communications therefore claim our attention. The fortifications at Ticonderoga should, in my opinion, be as much contracted as possible, and a fort built on Mount Independence, to cover batteries near the lake side and the redoubt on the Ticonderoga side, so as that the pass may be defended by a few men, and the navigation should be effectually stopped by sinking Cassoons [caissons] at small distances and joined together by string-pieces, so as at the same time to serve for a bridge between the fortifications on the east and west side. This work should be executed in the winter; but as these fortifications would not prevent the enemy from drawing their small craft over land, from beyond the three mile point into Lake George, the passage of that lake should also be obstructed, either by Cassoons from Island to Island, in the Narrows, if practicable, or by floating batteries. Whilst a part of the army is employed in this service, another body of troops should be sent to Fort Stanwix to strengthen that fortification, and to make some others at such places near the Mohawk river as may be deemed best for the purpose of retarding the enemy, should they make themselves master of Fort Stanwix ; and that we may be well prepared, and every department put in order, I conceive it necessary that the commanding officer of artillery should be directed to procure every necessary in his department, that we may not have to seek it when the campaign opens.

"That the chief Engineer be directed to do the like.

"That the Quarter Master General do the same.

"That the like order be given to the Commissary General.

"All the batteaux now on Lake Champlain and Lake George should be put into the best repair, as early as possible, in the months of February or March at the farthest.

"That one hundred batteaux be built in these months, at Schenectady.

"That a quantity of boards and plank should be collected at Fort George.

"That a sufficiency of pitch, oakum and whatever may be necessary for building and repairing vessels, floating batteries or batteaux, be collected and carried to Fort George, Fort Ann, Skenesborough and Schenectady, in the course of the winter.

"That provisions for five thousand men for eight months be immediately brought to Albany, and carried in winter to Fort Ann, or like quantity to remain in store at Albany to be sent to the westward if there be occasion. This is a matter that ought immediately to be attended to, and therefore a sufficient quantity of salt should directly be sent to Albany.

"That a large train of artillery, both heavy and light, should be sent in the course of the winter, part to remain at Albany, and as much as may be necessary for Ticonderoga and Fort George, to be sent there. This must be done in winter, at once to save a vast expense, and that we may not be embarrassed in the spring with the transportation of articles so extremely difficult to move.

"That a Laboratory should be established at Albany, to fix all the ammunition necessary for the campaign.

"That fifteen companies, to consist of a Captain, or overseer, and thirty men, be engaged for the batteaux service, and to be employed on the high-ways and other necessary work in the Quarter Master General's Department. It not only ruins soldiers to employ them in such business, and is more expensive; but also weakens the army too much.

"That four companies of carpenters, to consist of an overseer and twenty-five each, be engaged to attend the army; if more are occasionally wanted they can be procured in Albany or its vicinity."

So urgent were General Schuyler's entreaties for an investigation into his conduct that finally, when relieved of the pressure of anxiety occasioned by the events in New York, and connected with Washington's retreat to the Delaware, Congress took measures to gratify him. They had already, so early as the 3d of October, before the battles on Lake Champlain, directed him to take such steps as he might think proper for providing "a sufficient number of as large vessels as the navigation of the lake would admit of, for the service of the States the next campaign." Now (late in December) they urged the New England States to send four thousand men to take the place of the Pennsylvania and other troops about to retire from Ticonderoga, and authorized the erection of a fort, and the establishment of a general hospital on Mount Independence. They ordered cannon and other materials

of war to be sent thither with all possible dispatch, and authorized Schuyler to employ extraordinary means for contravening the wily Tories and Indians, who were threatening a winter incursion into the Mohawk Valley, by way of Oswego. Schuyler himself, ever vigilant, kept an eye constantly open in that direction. Sir John Johnson he knew was keeping up a continual communication with his wife, who yet remained in Albany, to whom permission to return to Johnson Hall, on the plea that she was far advanced in pregnancy and required the conveniences of her house for lying in, had been refused by the Albany committee of safety, with his sanction, for he was satisfied that she, as a sort of hostage, kept the baronet and his followers from sweeping down from the St. Lawrence and attempting to drive the Republican forces out of the valley.

During the summer and autumn of 1776 the Committee of Safety of New York had been assiduous in efforts to obstruct the navigation of the Hudson River, so as to prevent British ships from ascending it. They had been unsuccessful in these attempts at Fort Washington, and turned their attention to points in the Highlands. So early as July they had applied to General Schuyler for the chain that had been made for obstructing the navigation of the Sorel, which had been stretched under logs that served as floats, and so formed what is called a "boom," but was no longer needed after the army had been driven out of Canada. Early in August he ordered it to be sent down to Poughkeepsie, to the care of Van Zandt, Lawrence and Tudor, the naval constructors in the Continental ship-yards there; and a little later he was consulted about the best method for producing some obstructions in the river.

For a while the secret committee having the matter in charge, composed of Robert Yates as chairman, assisted by John Jay, R. R. Livingston, Gilbert Livingston, and Peter Tappen, could not determine whether to lay the obstructions at Fort Montgomery, at the lower entrance to the Highlands; at West Point in their midst, or at Pollopell's Island, at a wide place just above the upper entrance. They finally fixed upon Fort Montgomery, and their plan was to stretch a chain across, supported by timbers, in a measure similar to that on the Sorel, and so form a boom. They appointed Van Zandt, Lawrence and Tudor, at Poughkeepsie, to superintend the construction and fixing of a chain at Fort Montgomery, or "if it should be found impracticable at or near the said Fort, then to fix the same at or near Fort Constitution," and West Point opposite.

A little later the committee modified their instructions and ordered rafts of logs also to be made as floats for the chain, and as forming a part of the boom. This work was accomplished in October, but failed in consequence of the strong currents in the river producing a damming up of the waters above the boom and breaking the chain with their weight. In a letter to Schuyler, written from Peekskill in November, James Duane said: "One word *entre nous;* the chain has been twice stretched across the river at Fort Montgomery, and broke very soon. It raised a considerable fall in the river, and accumulated such an immense weight of water, that I despair of its answering the purpose in its present construction. A heavy weight of iron and double saw-logs fastened to each other, opposing continually an impetuous tide, seemed in speculation to promise little security. Now it has failed in experiment, how is it to be remedied? Let me have your opinion, on which, without compliment, we much rely."

The Committee of Safety also referred the matter to Schuyler's judgment, and on the 2d of December he wrote as follows, evidently preferring the shallower and wider part of the river at Pollopell's Island as the place for the boom:

"Experience has taught us that a chain sufficiently long to reach across the river ought to have better supports than floating logs. Perhaps cassoons [caissons] from thirty to forty feet square, according to the depth of the water where they are to be sunken, might answer this end.

"At the place in question the river is about six thousand feet wide. If, therefore, twenty-five such cassoons were sunk at a nearly equal distance the intermediate spaces between each would be about two hundred feet. The tops of the cassoons might come up to within two feet of the surface of the water at ebb tide, and the chain run through them at about six feet below the upper part of the cassoon, but as the chain might not be sufficiently strong to withstand the great force of a ship coming against it under sail and with the tide, a number of floats, each composed of six large pine logs of fifty feet long, might be made, the logs fastened to each other with strong chains eight or ten feet long, with an eye bolt at each end thro' the log, forelocked and keyed. The two extremes of these six logs to be fastened by a chain to two of the cassoons; these thus fastened and let go with the tide of ebb will form the two sides of a triangle, the angular point of which will be about one hundred and twenty feet from the line of the cassoons, and there they should be kept by anchors. If a ship should come against these logs the anchors will probably drag, may prevent the logs from breaking, and deaden the ship's way so much that the chain will not break.

"It is evident, I suppose, that we shall have batteries on the Island, and western and eastern shores, to prevent the enemy from laying alongside of the cassoons in order to cut the chain. One cassoon might be so constructed as to serve for a battery *en barbet*, and the guns being so near the surface of the water would make it extremely dangerous for a ship to come within reach of them. The greatest danger and difficulty we have to dread in sinking cassoons is from large rocks in the bottom of the river; but that may also be overcome.

"I cannot at present think of a better plan, and if the committee approves of it, no time should be lost in procuring the timber, which must be got in the vicinity of Fishkill, as the season is so far advanced that what might be got here cannot be carried down until the winter breaks up. If the timber cannot be procured below, I could wish to be advised of it immediately that I might employ people about Albany

not only to prepare the timber, but to frame it so as that the cassoon may be expeditiously sunk in the spring; about two thousand pieces of thirty feet long and not less than ten by twelve inches square, and five hundred pieces of fifty feet long, twelve inches square, will be wanted, and about ten thousand inch and half plank.

"I hope, in fourteen days from this, to do myself the pleasure to pay my respects to Convention on my way to Philadelphia."

At about the same time General Arnold, who had been informed that Schuyler had been requested by the Committee of Safety to advise and assist them, wrote to him, saying:

"I have taken the liberty of enclosing you a draft of a boom and chain, and run buoy," which, in the drawing, he described as follows: "No. 1. A strong chain sufficiently long to form a deep curve when it is laid, so that the current or ship will strike it obliquely, and of course with less force.

"2. Large pine logs fifty feet long made fast to each other by a strong chain ten feet long, with an eye bolt at each end thro' the log, forelocked and keyed.

"3. Small chains made fast at or near the ends of the logs, by which the large chain is suspended at any depth under water.

"4. A buoy, six feet long, two and a half feet diameter, in the middle, one foot at each head, made of thick oak staves full hooped, to buoy up the boom, or five rafts as occasion may require."

The chain at Fort Montgomery was mended, strengthened and better laid under the superintendence of Brigadier-general George Clinton, to whom Schuyler, on the 7th of December, had communicated his plan for building the caissons. But as Fort Montgomery, and not Pollopell's Island, continued to be the place chosen for the obstructions, the use of caissons, on account of the deep water, could not be entertained. Late in March the chain was again stretched across the river at Fort Montgomery, and no further difficulty with it appears to have been experienced until its removal by the British nearly seven months afterward, when they captured Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and sailed up the river almost unopposed.

CHAPTER VII.

SCHUYLER was now anxious to go to Philadelphia, but, in consequence of the absence of Generals Gates and Arnold, no general officer was left in the Northern Department, and according to the regulations of Congress he could not leave it. And a more effectual bar to such movement existed in the condition of military affairs between New York and Philadelphia.

Washington, as we have seen, had been driven to the banks of the Delaware, within thirty miles of Philadelphia, where he used extraordinary and effectual means for recruiting his broken army, then about to dissolve by the expiration of the time for which a large portion of the troops had been enlisted. Increased pay for the officers, offered bounties for soldiers, and the great personal influence of the commander-in-chief, together with the patriotic impulses of the people in the presence of palpable danger to the cause, gave to Washington, on the 24th of December, about five thousand effective troops, many of them fresh and hopeful. He was then on the right bank of the Delaware. On the left side, at Trenton, lay about one thousand five hundred British and Hessian troops, and a smaller number were at Bordentown, below. These Cornwallis (who was so certain of an early march of his army to Philadelphia, that he had returned to New York to embark for England) believed to be sufficient to keep the Americans from recrossing the river. It was a fatal mis-

take. Washington led his troops across the Delaware above Trenton on Christmas night, and early on the following morning fell upon and captured and dispersed the British and Hessians there.

Congress, meanwhile, thoroughly alarmed, had fled to Baltimore, at the middle of December. There they delegated to Washington the powers of a Dictator, for six months, giving into his hands discretionary control of all military matters for that period. "Happy it is for this country," they said, in the letter which conveyed to him such authority, "that the general of their forces can be safely intrusted with unlimited power, and neither personal security, liberty nor property, be in the least degree endangered thereby." To General Schuyler almost equal discretionary power had really, though not in expressed terms, been given in the management of the military affairs of the Northern Department. To no other officers than these two, did Congress ever evince such unlimited confidence in their wisdom and patriotism.

Stirring events followed the battle at Trenton, in the vicinity of the Delaware. Cornwallis was summoned back by the gravity of the situation; and a few days after that battle he marched from Princeton with a considerable force against Washington, whose little army, somewhat strengthened, lay at Trenton. The latter avoided a battle there by adroitly eluding the British commander and withdrawing to Princeton before daylight on the morning of the 3d of January, 1777. Near there he fell upon some British reserves, who were on their march to join Cornwallis. A sanguinary battle ensued. The booming of cannon brought Cornwallis back, when Washington's troops, too much exhausted to fight a fresh army greater

in number than themselves, fled. So precipitous was their retreat, that when Cornwallis entered Princeton, not an American soldier could be found there. Washington continued his flight to Morristown, in East Jersey, and among the hills of that beautiful region he established his head-quarters for the winter. Thither Cornwallis dared not pursue.

Such was the situation of affairs at the beginning of 1777. Congress was a fugitive from its capital, and the management of the affairs of the Northern Department was left to the discretion of Schuyler. His patriotic anxiety for the public good was much stronger than his desire for personal vindication, and he labored with untiring zeal in efforts to place his department in a good defensive state, at least. He was greatly distressed because of the tardiness with which troops ordered to it appeared; and at the close of the year (December 30th, 1776) he wrote the following letter to Congress on the subject of the affairs of his Department:

"That I have not been honored with the commands of Congress on the various matters mentioned in my former letters, and in a paper which I delivered to Messrs. Stockton and Clymer, on the 11th ultimo, is most probably to be imputed to the necessity it has been under of giving the closest attention to the maneuvers of the enemy in Jersey. This consideration, and that of the winter's being considerably advanced, has induced me to proceed in making such preparations for the next campaign as I deem absolutely necessary, without waiting the determination of Congress, trusting that Congress will readily pardon any *faux pas* I may commit from erring in judgment.

"On the 3d instant I addressed myself to General Ward on the subject of cannon and military stores. From the copy of his letter, which is enclosed, Congress will perceive that I am not likely to receive any aid from the Massachusetts Bay. I have, however, since the receipt of his letter, which was written on the 29th inst., written by express to the Honorable Thomas Cushing, entreating that the Legislature of that State would reconsider the matter and furnish what cannon etc. they can, and urged the necessity of their being sent

whilst the earth is covered with snow, as a great expense in the transportation will be saved by these articles being carried to Ticonderoga in winter. I have made similar applications to Governor Trumbull and the president of New Hampshire; and I propose, in a few days, to visit the Convention of this State on the same subject, for indeed, unless a sufficient number of cannon and ammunition can be procured we must inevitably lose Ticonderoga, and what the consequences of such a disaster will be are too evident to dwell upon. I have caused ten blacksmith's shops to be erected in this city, and engaged workmen to be employed in making intrenching tools, axes, nails, etc., and hope, with the assistance of the smiths in the vicinity, to get a sufficient stock of these necessary articles, provided I can anyhow procure a quantity of steel, for which I have applied to the Massachusetts Bay; but lest none should be sent from thence, I must entreat Congress to order three tons from Pennsylvania or Jersey with all the dispatch possible.

"I have ordered all the provisions that can be procured to be sent to Fort George, Cheshire's, and Ticonderoga. I fear a deficiency of salted meat, of which a sufficient stock should be laid in, as it would be risking too much to depend upon the precarious supply of fresh beef at a time when the fortress may be invested by the enemy.

"Forage is laying in for the cattle which it will be necessary to employ in the spring both at Ticonderoga and on the communication to it.

"Directions are given for repairing the batteaux on Lake Champlain and Lake George, and for building one hundred and fifty adapted to the navigation of Hudson's and the Mohawk Rivers and Wood Creek. Should the enemy be able to force us from Ticonderoga it will be possible for them, altho' we have possession of Mount Independence, to get into Lake George by drawing their Batteaux over land from below Ticonderoga; for altho' the task would be arduous, yet it is feasible, and ought to be guarded against. I therefore propose to build five or six flat-bottomed vessels, of considerable force, on Lake George, and shall begin to prepare the necessary articles in the beginning of February, unless Congress should please to direct otherwise; and about the same time I propose to begin the necessary work of obstructing the navigation of Lake Champlain, between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, which I hope to execute so effectually as not to leave a possibility for any kind of craft to pass whilst we keep possession of the latter place, *and which I think we can do against any force whatever, provided we have a sufficient garrison properly supplied with cannon, ammunition and provisions.*

"A considerably quantity of cordage and oakum is wanted. If it cannot be supplied in this State, I shall send to the eastern ones; and so, indeed, I must for many articles that will be wanted. I wish,

therefore, a resolution of Congress, directing every State to comply with my applications in whatever they can.

"The Indians have sent me a friendly message, and I have great hopes that they will abide by the neutrality which they have promised to observe. A report prevails that the enemy have requested the Mohawks to remove into the country beyond our settlements, but I have reason to believe it is void of foundation. I soon expect a visit from a considerable number of Chiefs and Warriors. They are in great distress for blankets. Unfortunately we have none here. I have applied for some to the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, and may probably receive some from thence.

"The Legislature of the Massachusetts Bay have ordered one fourth of the militia of the County of Berkshire, and one eighth of that of Hampshire, to Ticonderoga, to continue three months in service. Part of one regiment is marched from the former. What the whole number will be from both I cannot make a guess at. No troops are yet arrived here from Connecticut, nor can I learn that any are got to Ticonderoga from New Hampshire; neither was any part of Colonel Warner's regiment there on the 26th; and Colonel Warner advises me that he has no hopes of any troops remaining after the term of their enlistment expires, unless it be the Pennsylvanians, who, he believes, will not quit the post until regularly relieved. For three weeks, or perhaps a month to come, we have little to fear from an enemy, but as, after that, Lake Champlain will be passable, it is probable they will make an attempt, as I am well informed that they have two regiments at St. Johns, three at Isle aux Noix, and a small body as an advanced post on Isle la Motte; and I conjecture that they would hardly keep so many troops at those places if they did not meditate a winter's expedition. It is therefore of importance that the garrison should be strengthened, and I have therefore repeated my former applications, for assistance, to the Eastern States. Those of Van Schaick's and Gansevoort's regiments that are raised, are under orders to march to Fort Edward, Fort George, Cheshire's, and Skenesborough, but I fear the garrisons of those places will have left them before the relief gets there, which is detained thro' the want of blankets, which I am trying to collect from the inhabitants in this city and county.

* * * * *

"We are greatly at a loss for iron rods to make nails out of. If I knew where to procure them I should not trouble Congress.

"If any cannon are to come from Pennsylvania, as I believe there must, for I have very little prospect of getting a supply elsewhere, I wish them to be sent whilst the snow continues on the ground.

"The paymaster-general informs me that he has very little cash left. A speedy supply will be necessary, as such a variety of articles are to be purchased and so much transportation to be paid for.

* * * * *

"Much as I wish to do myself the honor to pay my respects to Congress, yet so much is to be done here, and no other general officer in the department, that it would not be prudent for me to quit it in this conjuncture.

* * * * *

"January 1st, 1777. Last evening I was informed that amongst the letters lately intercepted by the enemy was one from Colonel Trumbull, the Commissary General,* in which he insinuated that I had secreted his brother Colonel John Trumbull's commission as Adjutant General. If it be true that he has asserted such a thing, I shall expect from Congress that justice which is due to me. The commission was never sent, at least never received by me, and if it had been, is there the least probability that I would secrete it, after having recommended Colonel John Trumbull to the office as an active, discreet and sensible officer? That gentleman and his brother, the pay-master-general, both know, and I dare say will do me the justice to avow, that I wished to have them employed in a department equally honorable and much more important, and that I would have recommended him to Congress if he had chose it."

Schuyler's labors were seldom greater than during the remainder of the winter of 1777. To General George Clinton he wrote on the 5th of January: "I am closely engaged in preparation for next campaign, and shall hope that if we can be furnished with men, cannon, and ammunition, that the enemy will not be able to penetrate by the north; and if the intended obstruction in Hudson River is effectually made, they will have very little prospect of advancing farther into this State by the south." With the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, the missionary, and Mr. Deane, the intrepreter among the Indians, he was in constant communication, doing all in his power, by generosity and kindness, to keep the savages to the line of their promised neutrality; for in consequence of inadequate sup-

* Joseph Trumbull, son of Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut. It must be remembered that this was the same officer who wrote the letter to Gates, mentioned on page 95, calculated to inflame his jealousy against Schuyler when the question of command had risen between them.

plies for them at Albany, they were disposed to depart from it. Before Congress and General Washington he was continually laying information of the wants and prospects in his department, giving to each wise and comprehensive advice. To the patriotism of the authorities and people of his own and the New England States, he strongly appealed for immediate and effective measures for placing a barrier against a British invasion early in the spring. He informed General Washington, on the 30th of January, that the ensuing campaign would require ten thousand men at Ticonderoga, besides two thousand men more for the several points of communication and for Fort Schuyler (late Fort Stanwix) on the Mohawk. He made liberal arrangements with two judicious persons in Canada, known to be friendly to the cause, to furnish him from time to time with the best intelligence; and directed Colonel Bedel, who had been fully reinstated,* and in whom he expressed the fullest confidence, to use his great influence with the Caughnawaga and St. Francis Indians, to attempt to gain information by their means.

Toward the middle of January, Schuyler visited the Convention of the State of New York, then in session at Fishkill, a few miles east of the Hudson, where he was informed that Abraham Livingston, who had established a mercantile house in Boston, was the agent for Congress in the purchase of clothing. To him he immediately wrote, asking him to send on clothing and blankets for troops whom he had been compelled to detain at Albany for the want of them. He also ordered him to purchase and send to him by express, Indian goods, for distribution among the Mohawks, who were becoming disaffected, and had

* See page 75.

asked permission to go to Niagara for blankets. But he would not grant such permission, for he regarded their proposed journey as a pretext for joining the enemy. At the same time he allayed a part of their discontents by preventing, as far as possible, the officers and soldiers stationed in the Mohawk Valley from purchasing furs from the Indians at prices far below what they were worth, and buying them for the government at a satisfactory price through an authorized agent. By judicious management he held them to their neutrality. Their breaking from it would have been particularly disastrous at the time. During that whole winter Schuyler's anxiety about the Six Nations was as intense as that concerning the inadequacy of the northern defences.

It was at about that time that Mr. Kirkland brought to the notice of General Schuyler the salt springs near Onondaga Lake, from which the Indians were making salt. In a letter to Congress, on the 25th of January, Schuyler called the attention of that body to the fact, and expressed his conviction that the springs might be "improved to advantage," if some one acquainted with the process of salt-boiling could be sent thither, for salt was a very scarce article,* in consequence of the interruption of

* James Duane, writing to General Schuyler from Livingston's Manor, on the 15th of February, 1777, said: "Our friend R. Yates and myself are appointed to attempt the making of salt in the western country, and have contracted with one Sam, who understands, or *pretends* to understand the processes, to make experiments. We wish to confer with you on this important subject. It is an article which is essential, and we cannot depend on foreign supplies. Is it not probable that the salt springs issue from, or rather pass thro', beds of salt? If such a discovery should be made a supply would be easy. If five gallons of water, on evaporation, would produce, as it is said, two quarts of salt, it will answer the expense and relieve the fears of the people, who are not a little distressed on this account. We have very

navigation by the war—so scarce that Congress were compelled to adopt measures for procuring it. On the 3d of June they appointed a committee to devise ways and means for supplying it. On the 14th, by a series of resolutions, they requested the several States to do what they might to alleviate the distresses of the inhabitants of the State of New York, brought upon them by a want of salt, which the early closing of their seaport had produced, and directed the Secret Committee to sell to the Council of Safety, or the delegates of that State, a cargo of about two thousand bushels of salt, imported by Congress and then in store at Plymouth, Massachusetts. At the middle of July salt had become so scarce that Congress directed the Committee on Commerce to take the most "effectual and speedy measures for importing into different parts of this continent large quantities of that article." The dearth appears to have continued into the autumn, for we find Congress, on the 22d of October, directing the Commissary-general of purchases to procure salt for the Middle Department, which then included the State of New York. The great salt springs in central New York, which now supply so large a proportion of our thirty-eight million inhabitants, were then, as we have seen, just brought to the notice of the government, and there were no experts to make use of them.

Schuyler was much annoyed by the unpatriotic conduct of some of the citizens who were endeavoring to profit by the public wants. To the Convention of the State of New York, he wrote on the 25th of January,

slender information to proceed upon. I know that Sir William Johnson set a high value on the salt lake and springs which he claimed under an Indian deed. He conceived this claim worthy of particular notice in his will."

complaining of "a set of monopolizers" in Albany County, who were purchasing such great quantities of wheat, peas, corn, boards, etc., that a supply for public use could not be obtained. He recommended the passage of a law authorizing the seizure of such articles for the public use, to be paid for at fair prices. He also, in the same letter, and another dated the 1st of February, called the attention of the convention to the unguarded state of Ticonderoga, and expressing his fears that unless reinforcements should be sent thither before Lake Champlain should be passable on the ice, that fortress would be lost, for he had assurances that the enemy intended to attack it the very moment they might be able to so cross the lake. Only a few Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New England troops, under Colonel Anthony Wayne, then garrisoned the fortress, and these had been waiting to be relieved by others, for their terms of service had expired. Early in February, the Pennsylvanians could be detained no longer, and marched off for home, leaving the New Jersey troops discontented. These too were anxious to depart, and some left, so that the garrison dwindled down to a few hundred men, chiefly New England recruits.

General Schuyler slightly hoped the enemy might be detained by the news of Washington's success in New Jersey, of which he sent glowing accounts to the Six Nations, and to the Caughnawagas in Canada. He complained to Washington of the tardiness not only of his own State but that of the New England States in furnishing reinforcements, and especially of the hesitation of the inhabitants of the exposed northern states to enlist as volunteers. There was some show of reason for those of the seaboard New England States in being backward, for the British,

estimated to be four thousand strong, were at Newport, in Rhode Island, and might, in the absence of the militia, make a destructive raid. So late as the 7th of February, General Arnold wrote to Schuyler, from Providence, that there were five thousand raw militia there, to be used by General Spencer against the British at Newport.* But at about that time many of those troops were called away to New York to reinforce General Howe, and relieved the New Englanders from their apprehensions.†

Under the new arrangements for recruiting the armies with soldiers raised to serve during the war, the quota of Massachusetts was fifteen regiments. Washington had already authorized General Arnold to raise four or five battalions;‡ now he sent General Heath there to raise the whole number, and forward them to Ticonderoga as fast as they could be mustered into service. General Knox, the commander of the artillery, who had also been sent to Boston to forward artillerymen and ordnance to the same post, ordered Major Ebenezer Stevens, on the 6th of February, to proceed thither with three companies of artillery. A little later General Washington recommended General Schuyler to have the army in his department inoculated for the small-pox.

Other troops from other parts of New England and New York now began to move toward Lake Champlain, while the British troops at New York were actively building boats and galleys, which Washington believed were to be used on the Delaware, in a contemplated attack on Philadelphia.§ Encouraged by these promises of strength

* Autograph Letter.

† Autograph Letter of Pierre Van Cortlandt.

‡ Autograph Letter of Arnold to Schuyler, February 8, 1777.

§ Autograph Letter of John Taylor, dated at Morristown, 11th of March, 1777.

and of relief from apprehensions of an immediate attack, Schuyler wrote to Congress, on the 24th of February, saying he proposed to wait upon that body as soon as a competent garrison should arrive at Ticonderoga, when he should take that opportunity to justify every part of his conduct since he had been in command of the Northern Department.

Three days after this letter was written, Congress, still in session at Baltimore, adjourned, and reassembled at Philadelphia on the 4th of March. Gates, as we have seen, had repaired to the vicinity of Congress at the close of the campaign of 1776. He was now in Philadelphia, and he and his friends lost no time in impressing upon Congress the idea that Schuyler had assumed the power of a dictator without authority; that he was so offensive to the New Englanders that they would not serve under him; that the tone of his communications to the supreme Legislature was haughty and disrespectful, and that to retain him longer in the command of the Northern Department would be perilous to the country. The fact of Gates's own haughtiness and disrespect toward Congress appears to have been overlooked. He had treated the earnestly expressed desires of that body that he should resume the office of Adjutant-general in the newly organized army with absolute scorn. "I had last year," he wrote to President Hancock, "the honor to command in the second post in America; and had the good fortune to prevent the enemy from making their so much wished for junction with General Howe. After this, to be expected to dwindle again to the adjutant-general requires more philosophy on my part and something more than words on yours." To Washington he wrote to the same effect,

but declared that should it be his Excellency's wish he would resume the office with cheerfulness. Washington expressed his gratification at this seeming self-sacrifice, and desired Gates to send him a line mentioning the time when he would leave Philadelphia for Morristown.

Gates evidently never intended to resume the office. He made no reply to Washington's last request. He had a higher object in view, and in this he was sustained by his partisans in Congress. He was kept well informed by them of every secret of that body that might be of interest to him. No word of censure for his flippant letter to Hancock was uttered; on the contrary, on the very next day (March 13) a committee was appointed to confer with him upon the general state of affairs, and he felt confident that a majority of the delegates would be in favor of his appointment to the command of the Northern Department.

But how to get rid of General Schuyler? was a perplexing question. The mere allegations which had been made against him could not be sustained by proofs sufficiently positive to warrant his dismissal. There remained no other way than to so increase his discontent as to cause him to resign. Accordingly a letter of his to Congress, written on the 4th of February, was brought before that body on the 15th of March. In it he had said, in relation to their dismissal of the medical director of his department: "As Dr. Stringer had my recommendation to the office he has sustained, perhaps it was a compliment due to me that I should have been advised of the reasons for his dismission." In the same letter (including the intercepted one from Commissary Trumbull) he said that he "confidently expected that Congress would have done

him that justice which it was within their power to give, and which he humbly conceived they ought to have done." These expressions, far more courteous in words and intent than Gates', and which Congress had not hitherto been offended at, were now construed into insults to that body, and the following resolutions, calculated to sting Schuyler to the quick, and evidently intended to cause him to resign, were adopted:

"*Resolved*, That as Congress proceeded to the dismission of Doctor Stringer, upon reasons satisfactory to themselves, General Schuyler ought to have known it to be his duty to have acquiesced therein;

"That the suggestion in General Schuyler's letter to Congress, that it was a compliment due to him to have advised him of the reasons of Doctor Stringer's dismission, is highly derogatory to the honor of Congress; and that the President be desired to acquaint General Schuyler that it is expected his letters, for the future, be written in a style more suitable to the dignity of the representative body of these free and independent States, and to his own character as their officer.

"*Resolved*, That it is altogether improper and inconsistent with the dignity of this Congress to interfere in disputes subsisting among the officers of the army; which ought to be settled, unless they can be otherwise accommodated, in a court-martial, agreeably to the rules of the army; and that the expression in General Schuyler's letter of the 4th of February, 'that he confidently expected Congress would have done him that justice, which it was in their power to give, and which he humbly conceives they ought to have done,' were, to say the least, ill-advised and highly indecent."

President Hancock, who appreciated Schuyler's character, in his official letter transmitting the resolutions, said:

"The sense of Congress, relative to some expressions in your letter of the 4th of February is so clearly conveyed in the inclosed resolves that I shall only add, it is their expectation you will be more guarded for the future; and that you write in a style better adapted to their rank and dignity, as well as to your own character. I have the honor to be with every sentiment of esteem and respect."

Schuyler was not a man to be moved from his purpose by any provocation. He knew better than all Congress how important were his services to the country at that time, and no indignity could induce him to leave the post

of duty while he saw such perils ahead. He keenly felt the utter injustice of these resolutions, and determined to bring the matter to an issue at once. He went immediately to Kingston, in Ulster County, where the Convention of the State of New York were in session, laid the matter before them, and on the 30th of March set out for Philadelphia.

At Kingston, Schuyler was informed, by rumor, that he had been superseded by General Gates, in the command of the Northern Department. On his arrival at Philadelphia he found that to be virtually the case, for Gates, by resolutions of Congress passed on the 25th and 31st of March, had been ordered to repair immediately to Ticonderoga and take the command there, and was empowered and directed to take with him and employ under him in the Northern Department, Brigadier-general Roche de Fermoy, and such other of the French officers in the service of the United States as he should think proper. Also, Major-general St. Clair was ordered to repair to Ticonderoga and "serve under General Gates."

The rumor that Schuyler heard at Kingston about his being superseded, he communicated to his family at Albany, and Colonel Varick, who was still his confidential secretary and an inmate of his house, wrote on the 2d of April that all were well and in good spirits, and that nothing seemed wanting "except his presence as *Philip Schuyler, Esq.*, to make them happy." His family had long wished to see him relieved of the burdens and annoyances of office, yet they patriotically acquiesced in whatever seemed best for the promotion of the public good.

CHAPTER VIII.

The New York Convention espoused the cause of General Schuyler. They appointed him a delegate to Congress, with his friend William Duer, and directed delegates Philip Livingston and James Duane to repair thither at once. "The Convention have a proper sense of the ill treatment I have sustained," Schuyler wrote to Colonel Varick, "and are resolved that justice shall be done me." On his arrival in Philadelphia, he took his seat in Congress, and was cordially received by many of the delegates who had taken no part in the matter; and others who had been active against him seemed to wish to avoid an inquiry, and "threw out," he wrote, "that there are no complaints against me, and that they have never believed in any of the malicious reports propagated to my disadvantage. They have, however, gone too far," he continued, "and all that stands on their journals injurious to me must be expunged or I quit the service."* A week earlier he had been appointed commander-in-chief of the military in the State of Pennsylvania. He was the second Major-general (Lee being the first) in the Continental Army. After an official interview with Thomas Wharton, the President of Pennsylvania, he assumed the duties of his new position on the 14th of April.† He formed a

* Autograph Letter to Colonel Varick, April 16th, 1777.

† The following order was issued from the Pennsylvania War Office on the 14th of April:

"All the Troops belonging to and in the pay of this State, wherever

camp on the western side of the Schuylkill, completed works on Fort Island, threw up others at Red Bank, and with marvellous dispatch he sent troops and provisions to the commander-in-chief in New Jersey. During his two months' sojourn in Philadelphia he displayed great skill and energy in the reorganization of the Commissary Department; and made such valuable suggestions to Congress concerning it, that they embodied them in rules.

Meanwhile, Gates, flushed with the expectation of being speedily made the commander-in-chief of the Northern Department, and perhaps become a marked conqueror in the campaign about to be opened, obeyed with alacrity the orders of President Hancock, who, on the 25th of March, wrote to him, saying: "I have it in charge to direct that you repair to Ticonderoga immediately, and take command of the army stationed in that department." He set off, with Brigadier-general de Fermoy, as soon as he could make preparations to do so, and arrived at Albany on the 17th of April, where he was waited upon by Colonel Varick with a message from Mrs. Schuyler, inviting him to take up his quarters at the General's house, just below the city. He declined on the plea that dispatch of business required him to be continually in town. He breakfasted with Mrs. Schuyler the next morning, and evinced the most cordial friendship for her husband, at the same time showing the greatest coolness toward Colonel Varick. This was probably induced by the fact that he had found in a package which Varick had prepared for General Schuyler, and which Gates unwarrantably opened before

they may be, are directed and required to pay obedience to any orders that may be given them by Major-General Schuyler, the present commander-in-chief of this State. By Order of the board,

"OWEN BIDDLE, Chairman."

forwarding it, some expressions not very complimentary to himself. He had no doubt met the fate indicated in the proverb, that "listeners seldom hear any good of themselves." Of this violation of his rights Colonel Varick complained to General Schuyler.

Intelligence of Gates's appointment to the command preceded him, and the question, Has General Schuyler been superseded? produced much excitement in Albany. This was intensified by the receipt of a letter from Schuyler to the Committee of Albany, inclosing the resolutions of Congress which appointed Gates to the command, in which he said: "By these you will readily perceive that I shall not return a general. Under what influence it has been brought about, I am not at liberty now to mention. On my return to Albany I shall give the Committee the fullest information."*

General Schuyler took his seat in Congress as a delegate a few days after his arrival in Philadelphia, and, in compliance with his request, that body, on the 18th of April, appointed a committee of inquiry in his case, under the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the conduct of Major-General Schuyler, since he has held a command in the army of the United States."

That committee was composed of one delegate from each State, and consisted of the following-named gentlemen: Messrs. Thornton, Lovell, Ellery, Wolcott, Duer, Elmer, Clymer, Sykes, W. Smith, Page, Burke, Hayward and Brownson.† There was tardiness in beginning the investigation, which made Schuyler impatient, and, on the 3d of May, he wrote to Washington that he intended to resign

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Book.

† Journals of Congress, iii. 117.

his commission in a day or two. "As soon as I have done it," he said, "I shall transmit to your Excellency my reasons for such a step." The announcement grieved the Commander-in-chief. He fully appreciated the purity of character, integrity of purpose and vast usefulness to the cause, of the eminent New York patriot. He knew, too, how often his sense of honor had been violated, and to what unceasing annoyances he had been subjected, and he did not feel now, as he had done on a former occasion, called upon to persuade him to change his resolution, by an appeal to his patriotism. "I am sorry," he wrote, "that circumstances are such as to dispose you to a resignation, but you are the best judge of the line of conduct most reconcilable to your duty, both in public and personal view; and your own feelings must determine you in a matter of so delicate and interesting a nature."

But other friends urged Schuyler to be patient. On the 25th of April the committee had begun their inquiries into his conduct, and he was almost immediately satisfied that the result would be most favorable. On the 26th, he wrote to Colonel Varick:

"Such a change has taken place in the sentiments of the members who were unacquainted with me, that it is thought that they will expunge the resolutions of March 15th, copy whereof you have inclosed, but they have a much more difficult point to get over; they wish me to remain in the command, but having already appointed (or, at least, implicatively so) Gen. Gates to the command of the Northern Department, they do not know how to manage the matter; they wish to make Ticonderoga a separate command; that they have a right to do, but they know that I will not serve at Albany on those conditions; indeed, not on any, unless an absolute command is given me over every part of the army in the Northern Department. This they will not do, and, therefore, I shall return Mr. Schuyler only, to Albany."

This was the ultimatum of General Schuyler, and, because he supposed Congress would not agree to it, he

wrote to Washington that he should resign. There were indications that they would yield, but, without some explanations from General Schuyler concerning his letter of the 4th of February, they could not consistently expunge their resolutions of the 15th of March. Those explanations he gave in a memorial, dated the 7th of May, in which he took a lucid view of the whole matter, as follows:

"He trusted that a candor, rendered necessary on the principle of self-justification, will not give offence, so long as he confines himself within the bounds of that decency and respect which are due to the Grand Council of the United States.

"For the sake of perspicuity, he begs leave to recite the passages of his letter on which the resolutions were founded."

[Here follows the passage quoted on page 165.]

These expressions gave rise to the following resolutions:

[Here followed the first two resolutions quoted on page 166.]

"The other passage of your memorialist's letter, which has given offence, is in these words:

"'I perceive, by some of the resolutions, that my letter of the 30th December, continued to the 1st of January, was received by Congress. I was in hopes that some notice would have been taken of the odious suspicion contained in Mr. Commissary Trumbull's intercepted letter to the Hon'ble W. Williams, Esq. I really feel myself chagrined on the occasion. I am incapable of the meanness he suspects me of, and confidently expected Congress would have done me that justice which it was in their power to give, and which I humbly conceive they ought to have done.'

"Upon which the Congress was pleased to resolve, 'That it is altogether improper, and inconsistent with the dignity of this Congress, to interfere in disputes subsisting among the officers of the army, which ought to be settled, unless they can be otherwise accommodated, in a Court-Martial, agreeable to the rules of the army, and that the expressions in General Schuyler's letter of the 4th of February, that he confidently expected Congress would have done him that justice which it was in their power to give, were, to say the least, ill-advised and highly indecent.'

"With respect to the first resolution, your memorialist begs leave

to observe that the word *acquiesce* admits of a very extensive construction, and may either mean that your memorialist ought to have obeyed your orders and he ought to have been convinced of their justice and propriety, and that he be obliged to suppress his sentiments concerning them.

"If an obedience to your order was meant, your memorialist assures this House that he caused the letter from General Washington, conveying the dismission of Dr. Stringer, to be conveyed to that gentleman within half an hour after its receipt, and that he prevailed on Dr. Stringer to continue in the care of the sick and of the hospital stores until the arrival of Dr. Pitts, by whom he was superseded. If this latter part of your memorialist's conduct, which was dictated by common humanity and a regard to public economy, be deemed a disobedience, he must plead guilty.

"If, by the word acquiesce, a belief of the justice and propriety of the measure was meant, your memorialist begs leave to observe that Congress, having made rules for the government of the army and its followers, and appointed a mode of trial, a general opinion has prevailed therein that all persons who enter the military service have a right to be tried by these rules, and, if guilty, to be punished.

"The following resolutions of Congress, of the 29th November, ordering an inquiry to be made into the conduct of persons in the medical department, and which your memorialist begs leave to quote, seem to justify this opinion.

"'*Resolved*, That the General or commanding officer in each of the armies cause strict enquiry to be made into the conduct of the directors of the hospitals, and their surgeons, officers and servants, and of the regimental surgeons, that if there had been any just ground of complaint in these matters, the offender may be punished.'

"Your memorialist begs leave to observe that though this resolution did not come to his hands till the 12th of January, when he was on public business at Fishkill, the dismission of Dr. Stringer took place on the 9th of that month, a circumstance which superseded the enquiry, which your memorialist was on the point of instituting.

"The power of Congress to dismiss their servants without a formal enquiry, your memorialist, for his own part, never questioned, but its policy as a general rule, he humbly begs leave to observe, may be subject at least to one strong objection: it may tend to prevent men of worth and abilities from affording to the public that assistance which they are capable of giving, from the apprehension that the suggestion of clamors, too often arising from a jealousy of office, might expose them to the disgrace and injury of a dismission without being heard in their own defense.

"If an idea was intended to be conveyed by the word *acquiesced* that your memorialist ought to have suppressed his sentiments concerning the resolutions of Congress, he is apprehensive that a principle would

be held up of so broad a nature as might sometimes be injurious to the public interest. Should the great confidential servants of Congress be precluded from the indulgence of expressing their opinions or sentiments on such of the resolutions of your House as appear to them to affect the public interest or to wound their own feelings, Congress would certainly be deprived of many useful suggestions, and one important channel of information, frequently arising from actual experience, be entirely cut off.

"This privilege, your memorialist, from a sense of duty, has exercised on several occasions, in which Congress has not only acquiesced, but sometimes expressly approved, of his sentiments; even when they did not coincide with their resolutions.

"Amongst several instances, your memorialist begs leave to remind Congress of the resolutions of the 1st of July, 1775, ordering him not to remove any of the troops under his command from New York.

"That of the 8th of January, 1776, directing shipwrights to be sent from New York and Philadelphia, to build batteaux at Fort George.

"That of the 14th October last, withdrawing the allowance of one and one half dollars as a compensation to recruiting officers for enlisting soldiers.

"That for ordering batteaux to be raised in New York, and several more, which your memorialist humbly conceives were repealed or altered in consequence of the information he gave, and the execution of others not insisted upon, when your memorialist pointed out the objections to which they were liable.

"It is true that when the servants of the public give their opinion of the measures of Congress, decency, as well as candor, should be observed, and your memorialist flatters himself that when his motives for using the expressions which have incurred displeasure are duly compared and weighed, it will appear that he has not deviated from that line. This, at least, he conscientiously affirms, that he hath in no instance done it intentionally, nothing having been more distant from his thoughts, however they may be expressed, than to offend or reflect upon Congress.

"Your memorialist took it for granted that Congress was acquainted that he had, in a manner, forced Dr. Stringer in the service; that, in August, 1775, when sickness was spreading thro' the army under his command at Ticonderoga with great rapidity, and they were not only destitute of competent medical assistance, but even of medicines, the repeated solicitations of your memorialist, supported by the promises of the late Mr. Lynch, a member of your Honorable House (who was at Albany), prevailed on Dr. Stringer to exchange an extensive and well-established practice for your service, and to appropriate a large stock of his own medicines to the public use.

"Your memorialist begs leave to observe that Dr. Stringer, since his dismission without any inquiry into his conduct, imputes the loss

of a profitable business, as well as that of his medicines, which cannot now be replaced, to your memorialist, who, for that reason, could not but be anxious to have it in his power to assign the motives of Congress for taking that measure. When those circumstances are attended to, and when it is considered that your memorialist expressed his wish of being informed of the reasons for dismissing Dr. Stringer, not as a right, but merely as a matter of compliment, and not from impatience and curiosity, but with a view to obviate that gentleman's complaints, he flatters himself that the expressions on which the first and second resolutions were founded will not appear in that unfavorable point of light in which they have hitherto been considered. Conscious he is (and he must again repeat) that he did not mean to wound *the dignity of Congress*, or dispute their authority.

" Your memorialist begs leave to trespass on the patience of the House while he proceeds to the third resolution, which is founded, as he hopes to convince, on misapprehension.

" The Commissary-General, in a letter to Congress, which was accidentally made public, had accused your memorialist with detaining the commission of Deputy Adjutant-General of the Northern Department, which had been directed to be made out for Col. John Trumbull, the Commissary's brother. An imputation so injurious to the honor of your memorialist could not be passed over in silence; to vindicate himself became a duty, and the only means by which it could be effected were in the power of Congress, because their honorable President must have known, and, from his candor and regard for justice, been ready to declare, that the commission had not, at the time of writing that letter, been transmitted.

" Your memorialist entertained not the most distant wish that Congress should interfere in the dispute between him and Commissary Trumbull, tho' the third resolution is founded on such a supposition. He applied only for their testimony of the facts, whether the commission had been transmitted to him or not, and very far was he from apprehending that this would have given offence and displeasure; even now he cannot but flatter himself but that, upon a revision, it will not appear to have been a presumptuous or unreasonable request.

" Without this evidence, how could it have been possible to convince the world that the suspicion was ill-founded? or to have brought Colonel Trumbull to a Court-Martial for slandering a superior officer, had this mode been deemed by your memorialist consistent with the public good?

" Candor, however, obliges your Memorialist to confess that, ignorant as he was of the sense of Congress in this point, he should not have tho't it a transgression of the bounds of his duty, if he had directly applied to them as a mediating power. May he be permitted to refer to their consideration whether the exclusion of an appeal to Congress in disputes between the great officers of the army might not, in many instances, be attended with unhappy effects?

"What, he begs leave to ask, must have been the consequences, had your memorialist immediately arrested Major-General Gates, when, on the retreat of the army from Canada, he disputed his commands?

"Might it not have been greatly detrimental to the service, especially as your Memorialist was under the necessity, at that time, to quit the army to attend an Indian treaty at the German Flatts?

"Would that Harmony have subsisted, which was so necessary to the good of the service; which your Honorable House so warmly recommended, and which your Memorialist trusts he can convince the whole world he has strenuously labored to cultivate.

"In that dispute, from a pure zeal to the public cause, your memorialist waived the rights of a superior officer, and appealed to Congress. They tho't proper to take the matter into consideration, and passed the following resolution:

"'In Congress, July 8th, 1776.

"'*Resolved*, That General Gates be informed that it was the intention of Congress to give him the command of the troops while in Canada, but had no design to vest him with a superior command to General Schuyler while the troops should be on this side of Canada, and that the President write to General Schuyler, and General Gates, stating this matter, and recommending to them to carry on the military operations with harmony, and in such a manner as shall best promote the public service.'

"They further directed their President to express their approbation of the measures which your Memorialist had taken on this occasion.

"In the case of Colonel Trumbull, if it be considered that he was then Commissary General of all your forces; that he accompanied the main body of the Army under his Excellency General Washington, and that your memorialist commanded in the Northern Department, might not great prejudices have accrued to the public service, if your Memorialist, as he had a right to do, had arrested the Commissary General? Either the one or the other must, at a very critical period, have left his station to attend the enquiry, and your Memorialist fears that if any misfortunes had followed such a step, tho' he might have stood justified in the opinion of Congress, the world would have laid all the blame upon him, and he should have been censured for precipitation, intemperance and disregard to the public good.

"Your Memorialist, with gratitude, begs leave to remind Congress that he has on many occasions received their thanks for the zeal and unremitted attention which he has shown in the service of his country. He hopes he has studied to deserve them; his feelings are deeply wounded whenever he reflects that on the same journals he is recorded as an intemperate person, who has acted in contempt of that body whose dignity he has endeavored to maintain with his life and fortune; he therefore hopes that the Honorable Congress will recon-

sider the resolutions of the 15th of March, and that they will adopt such measures in consequence, as to their justice and wisdom shall appear expedient: and your Memorialist shall ever pray, etc.

"PH. SCHUYLER.

"*Philadelphia, May 6th*, 1777."

This dignified and unanswerable statement made a deep impression upon Congress, and silenced all cavil. The committee made a report highly satisfactory to General Schuyler and his friends. It placed the character of the patriot higher than it had ever been before; and on the 22d of May, in accordance with the report of the Board of War, they resolved "That Albany, Ticonderoga, Fort Stanwix and their dependencies be henceforward considered as forming the Northern Department;" and "that Major-General Schuyler be directed forthwith to proceed to the Northern Department, and take command there." Also, "that the resolutions, passed the 6th of March, 1776, directing General Schuyler to establish his head-quarters at Albany, be repealed."

The Treasury Board had been made to believe that he pointed at them in a letter of his, dated the 24th of February, in which he had spoken of persons "as lending willing ears to improbable tales" about his misuse of the money-chest of the Northern Department, and they had, in a letter to him on the 11th of April, used severe language toward him. This he now called their attention to, declaring that he did not then even know the names of the persons who composed that Board; that he did not have them in his thoughts, and that he only alluded to self-constituted committees who had taken the liberty to try him for ruining the affairs of Congress in Canada. He called upon them to make proper explanations of their harsh expressions, and demanded an immediate examina-

tion into all his accounts with the Government. This was done, and on the 15th of May the Board of Treasury officially discharged him "of all demands of the United States of America against him."

So was General Schuyler thoroughly vindicated, and liberty given him to make his head-quarters wherever he pleased. His triumph was complete. He was given "absolute command over every part of the Northern Department." And more: Congress expunged the offensive resolutions of the 15th of March by officially informing him that they "now entertain the same favorable sentiments concerning him that they had entertained before that letter [4th February] was received." Schuyler wrote to the President of Congress on the 27th of May, saying:

"I do myself the honor to return my sincere thanks to Congress for the attention and justice I have experienced from that respectable body since my arrival in this city. I entreat you, sir, to assure them that I entertain the most grateful feelings on the occasion; that I shall, by a steady and zealous perseverance in the line of my duty, strive to merit a continuance of their confidence; that I shall most assiduously labor to introduce discipline, harmony, and economy, in that part of the army committed to my immediate care; that, as I am the officer of the United States, I shall make no Colonial discriminations, and deprecate every measure that has the least tendency to disunite or create jealousies among us."*

So soon as General Schuyler could close up his official career in Pennsylvania, he hastened to Albany, where he arrived on Tuesday, the 3d of June, and was received with open arms by the citizens. A great public demonstration was made. "I had the satisfaction," he wrote to the delegates in Congress from the State of New York, "to experience the finest feelings from the general joy which my country expressed on my arrival and reappointment, a happiness I might have been deprived of had I

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

not profited by the advice and assistance you afforded me, which I shall remember with gratitude, and reflect on with great satisfaction. The day after that the whole County Committee did me the honor, in form, to congratulate me on my arrival and reappointment to the command of this department."

General Gates was still at Albany, where he had remained ever since his arrival in April. He had been kept uneasy by reports from his friends in Congress concerning the debates in that body, relative to his connection with the Northern Department. He considered himself as holding the supreme command—as having actually superseded General Schuyler—a view which prominent New York delegates and others declared to be erroneous. Congress, they said, had never entertained such an idea. They had simply settled the question whether Gates should be appointed Adjutant-general or be sent to command the post of Ticonderoga. They argued that it would be absurd to give him the command of the Northern Department, and yet confine him to Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, where his view of the necessities of the service must be very limited—confined to one spot, against which the enemy were not compelled to march in an invasion from the North. They argued that the affairs on the northern and northwestern frontiers were in a critical situation, and that no one but General Schuyler could hold in check the clashing interests and keep all united against the common enemy. He stood on the books of Congress as the commander of the Northern Department, and his presence as the general-in-chief was absolutely necessary there.

This was the substance of the argument on one side,

given by Mr. Lovell, of the New England delegation, to General Gates, in a letter. He told him, also, that Gates' friends (chiefly of that delegation) called it an absurdity that an officer holding such an important post as Ticonderoga should be under the absolute control of another a hundred miles distant, who was engaged, much of the time, in treating with the Indians, and busied with the duties of a commissary. But, as we have seen, Schuyler's friends prevailed; and Mr. Lovell, taking a sensible view of the subject, said to Gates: "I wish some course could be taken which would suit you both. It is plain all the Northern Army cannot be intended for the single garrison of Ticonderoga. Who, then, has the distribution of the members? This must depend on one opinion, or there can be no decision in the defence of the northern frontier. It is an unhappy circumstance that such is the altercation at the opening of the campaign."

Gates was nettled by the contents of this letter, and wrote, in evident irritation:

"Why, when the argument in support of General Schuyler's command was imposed upon Congress, did not you, or somebody, say, 'The second post upon this continent next campaign will be at or near Peekskill?' There General Schuyler ought to go and command; that will be the curb in the mouth of the New York tories and the enemy's army. He will then be near the convention, and in the centre of the colony, have a military chest and all the insignia of office. This command, in honor, could not be refused without owning there is something more alluring than command to General Schuyler, by fixing him at Albany. By urging this matter home, you would have proved the man. He would have resigned all command, have accepted the government of New York, and been fixed to a station where he must do good, and which could not interfere with, or prevent, any arrangement Congress have made, or may hereafter make. Unhappy State! that has but one man in it who can fix the wavering minds of its inhabitants to the side of freedom! How could you sit patiently, and, uncontradicted, suffer such impertinence to be crammed down your throats?"

Gates then went on to argue from the precedents of

the "last war" (French and Indian), that Ticonderoga was a proper place for the head-quarters of the Northern Department. "Nothing is more certain," he said, "than that the enemy must first possess that single rock before they can penetrate the country. It is foolish in the extreme to believe the enemy, this year, can form any attack from the northward but by Ticonderoga. Where, then, ought the commanding general to be posted? Certainly, at Ticonderoga. If General Schuyler is solely to possess all power, all the intelligence, and that particular favorite, the military chest, and constantly reside at Albany, I cannot, with any peace of mind, serve at Ticonderoga."

Gates well knew the importance of having head-quarters at Albany, so as to have an immediate eye upon and control over movements connected with the Indians and the British, who might penetrate the country from Oswego, but he chose to ignore that fact altogether; and, in the irritable state of mind in which he then was, he ventured to insult the Commander-in-Chief, by disrespectful language concerning tents. Gates had sent an aid-de-camp to procure these shelters, who brought word back that Washington wanted every tent for use in the South, and saw no occasion for any in the North, where the army was at fixed posts, and might be hutted. "Refusing this army what you have not in your power to bestow, is one thing," Gates insolently wrote to Washington, "but saying that this army has not the same necessities as the Southern armies, is another. I can assure your Excellency the service of the northward requires tents as much as any service I ever saw." Washington rebuked him, in a dignified manner, for this disrespectful imputation of sectional partiality, at the same time assuring him that he should do all in his power to supply him with tents. But Gates was not satis-

fied. He was then having ambitious schemes, which he could not always conceal. He aspired to the chief command of the Continental armies; indulged in the egotistical idea that he knew better how to move them than did the Virginia general, and that the New England delegates would support him in such preposterous claims. He poured into the ears of that delegation insidious suspicions that Washington was a sectional general. "Either I am exceedingly dull," he wrote to Mr. Lovell, "or unreasonably jealous, if I do not discover by the style and tenor of the letters from Morristown, how little I have to expect from thence. Generals are so far like parsons, they are all for christening their own child first; but let an impartial moderating power decide between us, and do not suffer Southern prejudice to weigh heavier in the balance than the Northern."

Lovell desired no further correspondence of that kind, and put an end to it and Gates' hopes, by writing to him on the 22d of May, saying: "Misconceptions of past resolves and consequent jealousies have produced a definition of the Northern Department, and General Schuyler is ordered to take command of it. The resolve, also, which was thought to fix head-quarters at Albany, is repealed."

CHAPTER IX.

When General Schuyler arrived in Albany he found General Gates in no pleasant mood. He had remained in that city instead of going to the post to which Congress had assigned him, with the expectation, no doubt, of the resignation of Schuyler, and his own appointment to the chief command of the Department. His hopes were now blasted by the recent proceedings of Congress, which the supple courtier of his staff, Colonel James Wilkinson, said in a letter from Ticonderoga, baffled his penetration. "They have injured themselves," Wilkinson wrote, "they have insulted you, and by so doing have been guilty of the foulest ingratitude. How base, how pitiful, or how little deserving the name is that Public Power which individual consequence can intimidate or bribe to its purpose."*

The action of Congress only defined Gates' position, which he had misunderstood, but he persisted in considering himself degraded. He refused to serve under Schuyler, and on the 9th of June applied to him for leave to quit the Department. It was granted, and he hastened to Philadelphia to demand redress from Congress for imaginary wrongs. He arrived there on the 18th of June, and on the same day Roger Sherman, delegate from Connecticut, informed Congress that General Gates was waiting at their door for admittance. "For what purpose?" in-

* Autograph Letter, June 7, 1777.

quired Wm. Paca; to which Sherman replied, "to communicate intelligence of importance." He was accordingly admitted, and seating himself in an arm-chair, after some ceremonies he began to speak. William Duer, a delegate from New York, gave, in a letter to General Schuyler, the following account of the scene that occurred:

"The intelligence he communicated was that the Indians were extremely friendly, much delighted with seeing French officers in our service, and other common-place stuff, which at present I cannot recollect. Having thus gone through the ostensible part of the plan, he took out of his pocket some scraps of papers, containing a narrative of his *birth, parentage and education, life, character and behavior.* He informed the House that he had quitted an easy and happy life to enter into their service, from a pure zeal for the liberties of America; that he had strenuously exerted himself in its defense; that in some time in May last he was appointed to a command in the Northern Department, and a few days since, without having given any cause of offence, without accusation, without trial, without hearing, without notice, he had received a Resolution by which he was in a most disgraceful manner superseded in his command. Here his oration became warm, and contained many reflections upon Congress, and malicious insinuations against Mr. Duane, whose name he mentioned, and related some conversation which he said had passed betwixt him and that gentleman on his way to Albany. Here Mr. Duane rose, and addressing himself to the President, hoped that the General would observe order, and cease any personal applications, as he could not, in Congress, enter into any controversy with him on the subject of any former conversation. Mr. Paca caught the fire, and immediately moved that the General might be ordered to withdraw. I seconded the motion, observing that the conduct of the General was unbecoming the House to endure, and himself to be guilty of. Mr. Jerry Dyson, Mr. Sherman, and some others of his Eastern friends rose, and endeavored to palliate his conduct and to oppose his withdrawing; on this Mr. Middleton, Mr. Burke, Colonel Harrison, and two or three others arose, and there was a general clamor in the House that he should immediately withdraw. All this while the General stood upon the floor, and interposed several times in the debates which arose on this subject; however, the clamor increasing, he withdrew. A debate then ensued concerning the propriety of the General's conduct, and that of the members who, contrary to the rules of Parliament, contended for the propriety of his staying, after a motion had been made and seconded that he should withdraw.

"The want of candor in Mr. Sherman, who asked for his admit-

tance on the pretence of his giving the House intelligence, was much inveighed against, but he bore it all with a true Connecticut stoicism. Congress at length came to the determination that General Gates should not again be admitted on the floor, but that he should be informed that Congress were ready and willing to hear, by way of memorial, any grievances which he had to complain of. Here this matter ended. Not, as you will observe, to his credit or advantage.

"It is impossible for me to give you an idea of the unhappy figure which G. G. made on this occasion. His manner was ungracious, and totally void of all dignity; his delivery incoherent and interrupted with frequent chasms, in which he was peering over his scattered notes; and the tenor of his discourse was a compound of vanity, folly and rudeness. I can assure you that notwithstanding his conduct has been such as to have eradicated from my mind every sentiment of respect and esteem for him, I felt for him as a man, and for the honor of human nature wished him to withdraw before he had plunged himself into utter contempt. You will perhaps think it was improper in me to second the motion that he should be ordered to withdraw, but I plainly saw that he was brought in with an intention to browbeat the New York members, whom he considers as his mortal enemies, and I was determined to let him see that it was indifferent to me whether I offended him or not.

"Perhaps he may take it into his head to call me out, as he quitted the house with the utmost indignation. Should this be the case, I am determined not to shelter myself under privilege, being convinced of the necessity there is to act with spirit, to enable me to discharge, with fidelity, the trust reposed in me."

Duane, writing to Schuyler on the same subject, on the 19th of June, said:

"He has heard from several candid members, that only one or two justified his claim to the Command, and that the rest declared that there was no room for his supposing it ever had been invested in him. He ought to feel more pain and resentment from this circumstance than from anything which fell from me. I am apt to think he does, for he has made no representation in Congress, and, instead of resigning, talks of going to General Washington's camp. If I might guess, he expects that *you* will be elected Governor of New York, and resign your military honors, and that then he will be reinstated in the possession of what he has much at heart, the command of the Northern Department."

To this Schuyler replied, on the 3d of July:

"I am obliged to you for the minute detail of Gen. Gates's conduct in Congress. I wish I could believe that he has not a bad heart as well as a weak head. I do not mean to impeach his political principles in this

contest, but this insidiousness in attempting to blast the reputation of others, is shameful. The resentment Congress showed to his improper conduct gives me a double pleasure, as it must have extremely mortified him and his abettors, the Eastern people. I am well assured that he has held a correspondence with a set of people who call themselves a Convention of the new (would-be) States,* and that he has addressed letters to them, as such."

Meanwhile, Schuyler had been putting forth all his energies in preparations against an attack from Canada. Extraordinary exertions were needed; for he found that almost nothing had been done in the department during his absence, in the way of such preparations. Gates had said to St. Clair, "Call lustily for aid of all kinds, for no General ever lost by surplus numbers or over-preparation." But very little had been done to supply Ticonderoga with provisions, and, as for the dangers threatening in the western frontier, Gates seemed not to have bestowed a thought upon them, excepting on one occasion, when Joseph Brant, the

* This was an allusion to the recent action of the people of the "New Hampshire Grants," whose territory was still claimed as a part of New York. (See page 257, Vol. i.) They had assembled in convention, at Windsor, at the middle of January, 1777, and declared the "Grants" an independent State, with the title of Vermont. At the same time, they adopted a declaration and petition to Congress, setting forth reasons for independence, and praying that the declaration might be received, and the district described therein ranked among the free and independent American States, and delegates therefrom admitted to seats in the grand Continental Congress.

This was presented to Congress on the 8th of April. On the 30th of June, Congress dismissed the petition, by resolutions, in one of which they declared: "That the independent government attempted to be established by the people styling themselves inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, can derive no countenance or justification from the act of Congress declaring the United Colonies to be independent of the Crown of Great Britain, nor from any other act or resolution of Congress." For a full account of this movement, from its incipient state to the admission of Vermont as an independent member of the Union, see the second volume of the published collections of the Vermont Historical Society.

young Mohawk Chief, and brother-in-law to Sir William Johnson, tried to induce his people to abandon their old abode for lands more remote from the white people and their influence. To counteract Brant's work, Gates, on the 29th of May, sent the following characteristic speech to the Mohawks, and then let the matter rest:

"*Brothers:*

"I believe I am almost as old a warrior as any here present. When I cast my eyes around, I see many whom I remember at the beginning of the last war to have been little boys. It is now eight and twenty years since first I came from England to Chebucto. I say not this from boasting or vanity, but only to convince my brothers that I have travelled far, and seen much. Warriors of long experience in council and in the field will be heard with attention in this solemn assembly. As I love my brothers of the Six Nations, I wish them to open their ears, that the advice I am going to give may sink deep into their hearts.

"*Brothers:*—With grief I remark it has been acknowledged in this Council that certain warriors have been permitted to cut off the feet of the Virginians upon the Ohio. Brothers: if you are wise, command that bloody hatchet to be instantly buried. The great Governor and Council of Virginia will oblige any of their subjects to atone for the injustice they may have committed. There is no need to do more than to make the injury appear, and punishment and redress will directly follow.

"The villainy of a few should not cause two mighty nations to go to war.

"*Brothers:*—The war with England is drawing to an end. News which you will soon hear from G. W. will convince you of this truth.

"*Brothers:*—The United States are now one people; they offer to take you to their bosoms, and consider you equal to their own children. Suffer not any evil spirits to lead you into a war which must end in your misery. America and France are firmly united; then strive not to prop a ruined building, lest it crush you with its fall.

"*Brothers,* of the Mohawks:—You have long tasted the sweets of peace and society. Do not let any wicked men tempt you to remove from the happy lands your ancestors planted so many hundred years ago. Believe me when I prophesy,—You will be no more a people from the hour you quit your ancient habitations. If there is any wretch so bad as to think of prevailing upon you to leave the sweet stream so beloved by your forefathers, he is unworthy to be called a Mohawk. He is your bitterest enemy.

"Before many moons pass away, the pride, injustice and power of

England will be laid low. Then, when your American brothers have no enemy to contend with, how happy will it make you to reflect that you have kept your integrity, and preserved the neutrality so earnestly recommended to you from the beginning of the war.

"*Brothers*, of the Six Nations:—The Americans well know your great fame and power as warriors, and the only reason why they did not ask your help against the cruelty of the King was that they thought it ungenerous to desire you to suffer in a quarrel in which you had no concern.

"*Brothers*:—I am sorry to be obliged to say a hatchet has been struck into the heads of some Bostonians, at Sabbath Day Point. Order that hatchet to be thrown immediately into the middle of the great lake. Sink it deep enough, for should it again be found, it may fall in vengeance upon the heads of those who were so wicked as to strike the Bostonians.

"*Brothers*:—Treasure all I have now said in your hearts, for the day will come when you will hold my memory in veneration for the good advice contained in this speech."

Fortunately for the cause, Schuyler had now better health than he had experienced for two years, and the amount of labor that he performed was prodigious. His eyes were everywhere, and his voice and pen were hourly calling forth help that no other man could have commanded. He sent General St. Clair to take command at Ticonderoga, assisted by General Fermoy. Recruits were slowly augmenting the strength of the garrison there, which, at the middle of June, amounted to about two thousand five hundred, rank and file, including the sick, many of whom, from New England, were old men and boys.

There not being a sufficiency of troops in the department to command all the extensive works on both sides of the lake at Ticonderoga, Schuyler directed St. Clair to first thoroughly fortify Mount Independence, for he was satisfied that it was the most defensible point of the two capable of sustaining a long siege, and a post that might be maintained by two or three thousand men, who could

secure the pass. Such, also, was the opinion of the engineers and other experts. He instructed him, also, to keep strong scouting-parties out on both sides of the lake (some in the direction of the road leading from St. John's to New Hampshire, and some in another leading to the north branches of the Hudson), and not to concentrate all the troops at Ticonderoga, for fear of disaster, in case of an attack, like that which befell Fort Washington in the autumn. He enjoined cleanliness in every department, and directed the commanders of posts to see to it that no man was allowed to mount guard who had not his hair dressed and powdered, and his arms and accoutrements in perfect order. He gave directions about cooking, so as to have the food in a condition most conducive to health; and in every way he took care for the comfort of the troops.

At the middle of June, Schuyler was disturbed by rumors of the movements of the enemy. A British spy, named Amsbury, had been caught and examined by Schuyler. He reported that General Burgoyne had arrived at Quebec, to take command of forces soon to commence an invasion of northern New York. He was to advance, with his main force, by way of Lake Champlain, while a detachment of British regulars, Canadians and Indians, led by Sir John Johnson, was to penetrate to the Mohawk Valley, by way of Oswego, place itself between Fort Schuyler and Fort Edward, and so menace Albany. Assuming the information to be correct, Schuyler called for more troops. He considered the garrison at Ticonderoga sufficient to defend that post against any force which he believed to be then in Canada, but he had no troops to meet the promised invasion from the westward. Wash-

ington, then keenly watching the movements of General Howe from the heights near Middlebrook, in New Jersey, responded to Schuyler's appeal by directing General Putnam, then in command of cantonments from Princeton to the Hudson Highlands, to procure sloops and hold four Massachusetts regiments in readiness to go up the river at a moment's warning. Judging from what Gates had told him, he could not believe there was much danger of the invasions dreaded, and so he informed Schuyler; but like a prudent commander he was ready to provide for such a possible emergency.

In the meantime General Schuyler's attention had been called to the civil affairs of his State. After the Declaration of Independence, the several colonies proceeded to form State governments, by adopting constitutions. In that business New York moved early. On the first of August, 1776, a committee of the "Convention of the Representatives of New York," as the provisional government was called, sitting at White Plains, in Westchester County, were appointed to draw up and report a constitution. The committee consisted of the following-named gentlemen: John Jay, John Sloss Hobart, William Smith, William Duer, Gouverneur Morris, Robert R. Livingston, John Broome, John Morin Scott, Abraham Yates, Jr., Henry Wisner, Sen., Samuel Townsend, Charles DeWitt, and Robert Yates. John Jay was the chairman, and to him was assigned the duty of drafting the Constitution.

The Convention was made migratory by the stirring events of the war during the ensuing autumn and winter. First they held their sessions at Harlem Heights; then at White Plains; afterward at Fishkill, in Dutchess County, and finally at Kingston, in Ulster County, where they

continued from February till May, 1777. There undisturbed, the committee on the Constitution pursued their labors, and on the 12th of March, 1777, reported a draft of that instrument. It was under consideration in the Convention for more than a month after that, and was finally adopted on the 20th of April. Under it a State government was established by an ordinance of the Convention, passed in May, and the first session of the Legislature was appointed to meet at Kingston in July.

General Schuyler was first apprised of the adoption of the Constitution by a letter from Robert Benson, written on the 25th of April. Preparations were soon afterward made for the election of State officers; and on the 2d of June John Jay, Charles DeWitt, Zephaniah Platt, Michael Cantine and Christopher Tappen united in issuing a circular letter from the hall of the Convention, at Kingston, recommending General Schuyler for the office of Governor, and George Clinton for Lieutenant Governor. He declined the honor because he considered the situation of affairs in his Department too critical to be neglected by dividing his duties. The elections were held in all the Counties excepting New York, Kings, Queens, and Suffolk, then occupied by the British, and Brigadier General George Clinton was elected Governor, which office he held, by successive elections, for eighteen years, and afterward for three years. Pierre Van Courtlandt, the President of the Senate, became Lieutenant Governor. Robert R. Livingston was appointed Chancellor; John Jay Chief Justice; Robert Yates and John Sloss Hobert judges of the Supreme Court, and Egbert Benson attorney-general.* So it was that the government of the great State of New

* Journals of the Convention, pp. 916, 918.

York was organized and put into operation at a time when it was disturbed by formidable invasions on its northern, southern and western frontiers.

There were personal aspirations for the chief offices of the State, but no partisan feelings yet influenced the conduct of those who participated in their election. Of course only the republicans, or whigs, so participated, for the royalists, or Tories, had no part nor lot in the matter. It was not until after the treaty of peace, in 1783, when men began to differ about the best form of government to be adopted, that political parties were formed.

General Schuyler visited Ticonderoga and Mount Independence on the 20th of June. He found the troops there miserably clad, and armed, and nothing in store for them. Many were "actually barefooted," he said, "and most of them ragged." He besought Congress to procure clothing, arms, and blankets.* He held a council of officers, who observed, with much concern, the great lack of preparations for attack, caused by the utter inadequacy of the garrison for many months to do the work, and the want of effort on the part of Gates while in command; and when Schuyler spoke of the danger of the enemy taking a position on Mount Defiance, rising seven hundred feet above Ticonderoga, on the opposite side of the inlet to Lake George, it was the unanimous opinion of the officers that such occupation was almost impossible, owing to the rugged character of the approaches to it, and secondly, that all the troops in the department were insufficient to construct fortifications there, and to defend them and the other posts. So it was resolved to defend Ticonderoga and Mount Independence as long as possible. To

* MS. Letter to Congress, June 25, 1777.

this end Schuyler gave St. Clair definite instructions, at the same time leaving him to exercise large discretionary powers, to meet any emergency while Schuyler was below making provisions to meet the anticipated invasion of the Mohawk country. He appealed to Washington for reinforcements, informing him that if the Americans should be compelled to evacuate Ticonderoga, and Burgoyne should make his way to the south part of Lake Champlain, he had "not a man to oppose him, the whole number at the different posts at and on this side of the Lake, including the garrison of Fort George and Skenesborough, not exceeding seven hundred men."* He urged the necessity of reinforcements being immediately sent, and begged Washington to send field-pieces with them, as he despaired of receiving any from the eastward. He informed him that a letter just received from Mr. Deane, in the Indian country, confirmed his impression that an invasion from Oswego might be expected.†

* Schuyler's MS. Letter Books.

† When we consider the events in the Northern Department for the six months preceding the visit of General Schuyler to Ticonderoga late in June—the deaf ear that had been practically turned upon all his entreaties for men and supplies to enable him to prepare the defences on the Lake for an inevitable attack in the spring or early summer; the taking away from Schuyler, for two months, the command of the Department, and giving it to Gates, who throughout the war was notorious for his inattention to the matter of providing for emergencies; the instructions which Schuyler gave St. Clair, and the heavy responsibilities which he had assumed in all cases, and for which he was accused of being a dictator, the following paragraph on page 361, volume ix., of "Bancroft's History of the United States," in which he speaks of the post of Ticonderoga at the time now under consideration, seems quite unaccountable: "The only good part was, to prepare for evacuating the post; but from the dread of clamor, shirking the responsibility of giving definite instructions, Schuyler returned to Albany, and busied himself with forwarding to Ticonderaga supplies for a long siege."

Schuyler then returned to Fort George, and from that point sent forward an ample supply of provisions for the garrison at Ticonderoga, and hastened back to his country seat at Saratoga, on his way to Albany, where he found that an unsuccessful attempt had been made to burn his mansion.* There he was overtaken by a letter from General St. Clair, announcing the appearance of the fleet of the enemy on Lake Champlain.

The British, in Canada, had been making ample preparations for the campaign of 1777. The winter had been unusually mild, and toward the latter part of March, two ships which had been lying at St. John's were put into service, sailed as far south as the Isle aux Noix, and anchored near there, where they were frozen up by a cold snap of unexpected severity. It soon passed by, and a hundred new vessels were speedily built, old ones repaired, and two three-masters of twenty guns each were constructed. A floating battery mounting eighteen guns—twenty-four pounders—was put in good condition, and several new forts were built at St. John's and its vicinity.

The capital plan of the campaign was, as we have already observed, to penetrate the State of New York from the north and south simultaneously, along the valleys of the Champlain and Hudson. But it had been found extremely difficult for General Carleton, in Canada, and

* The Tories were very vindictive, and on several occasions attempted to carry off or murder General Schuyler, and destroy his property. On one of these occasions a white man and an Indian, who had both received bounties at the hands of the general, were employed to murder him. They posted themselves at a lonely place at Saratoga, where they knew he was about to pass, and as he approached, the white man raised his gun to shoot him. The Indian suddenly struck up the musket of his companion, saying: "I cannot kill him—I have eaten his bread too often."

General Howe, in New York, to communicate with each other. To this end the former sent a deputation of Indians southward, so early as the middle of February, to obtain information of the latter's actual and intended movements. They made their way in two parties, with difficulty, by stealth, through regions occupied by the republicans, one party by the way of the Kennebeck River, and another through the wilderness west of Lake Champlain. Both parties returned with prisoners, and from these Carleton first learned of the disasters of the British at Trenton. This intelligence made the cautious Governor-General still more circumspect.

On the 6th of May, General Burgoyne returned to Quebec, from London, with the commission of Commander-in-chief of the troops in Canada. It produced a considerable excitement in military circles in that province, where Carleton was popular. Burgoyne had returned to England in the autumn, ostensibly to attend to family affairs; it was now suspected that his visit had for its object the obtaining of the chief command, more than for anything else. Carleton was let down from his position as easily as possible. It was announced that the King and ministry were well satisfied with his generalship during the last campaign, but that His Majesty had thought it advisable that the governor-general of the province should no longer command an army, but, remaining in the province, allow the general second in command to be the active leader. So General Carleton remained in Canada, with a few troops for its defence, while General Burgoyne was ordered to take command of the rest of the army, lead them across Lake Champlain into New York or New England, drive the "rebels" from Ticonderoga and Lake Sacrament (Lake

George), and open a communication with General Howe, from whom he was to receive further instructions.*

Carleton accordingly surrendered the command of the troops destined for the invasion into the hands of Burgoyne, retaining in Canada three English regiments, forming the battalion of McLean, and six hundred and fifty Germans, together with reinforcements for a regiment whose arrival was expected.

The army under Burgoyne was composed of the English regiments of grenadiers, the English light infantry, the 9th, 20th, 21st, 24th, 27th, 53d and 62d German infantry regiments, with the exception of the six hundred and fifty just mentioned, and the whole of the artillery train. Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, of the 34th English regiment, was, by the express order of the King, to lead an independent force for the invasion of the Mohawk country by the way of Oswego. It was to be composed of parts of his own and another regiment, three companies of Canadian volunteers, and all the Indians who had rendezvoused at Niagara. These Canadians and Indians were to be led by Sir John Johnson. It was the intention for this corps to make its way to Albany, in the rear of the main army of the Americans, and so cut off the supplies of Ticonderoga, as the advanced guard of the greater invading army that was to follow.

At the close of May, Burgoyne issued orders for the march of all the troops for St. John's, there to be in readiness for embarkation at a moment's warning, and directing all the heavy baggage and the sick to be left at Three Rivers, on the St. Lawrence. He had about as many men as he desired for the campaign. The Germans, about four

* Memoirs of General Riedesel, translated by W. L. Stone, i. 97.

thousand strong, were under Major-general Riedesel, and the remainder were commanded chiefly by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Major-general Phillips. They were all assembled at or near St. John's before the middle of June. There, on the 12th of that month, while the chief officers, with Carleton, who came to take leave of the army, were dining with General Phillips, a messenger came from Quebec with the news that thirty-nine vessels had arrived there from Europe, bearing troops and war materials. Fifteen of them were transports, which brought eleven companies from England, together with four hundred chasseurs from Hanau, destined for Riedesel's corps. By the 18th of June, the whole of the German corps had arrived at Cumberland Head, across the bay, opposite the present village of Plattsburgh.

The entire army, under Burgoyne, were now concentrated in that vicinity, with the exception of Hamilton's brigade, which had been left behind to protect the magazines. On the morning of the 19th, Burgoyne had the whole of his force under arms, and riding along the entire front, addressed them in a few stirring words, and appointed the next day for the march. Each man was provided with rations for ten days. At dawn on the 20th, the general march was beaten on the drums instead of the reveille, and very soon afterward the army was prepared for embarkation. With much display, Burgoyne went on board the *Lady Mary*, and, at the same moment, the booming of heavy guns from the deck was the signal for the army to start. They pressed forward steadily, and by midday they arrived at the camp on Ligonier Bay. General Fraser, a gallant Scotch officer, had pushed forward with his brigade to the River Bouquet, the day before, when the last of the

Indian tribes who were to join the invaders came up, about one hundred in number. They were then feasted, and addressed by Burgoyne, and, in turn, they gave him assurances of their fidelity.

This feast was at the falls of the Bouquet, on the site of the present village of Willsborough, in Essex County, which was founded by William Gilliland a little more than a hundred years ago, and perpetuates his Christian name abbreviated.* There were about four hundred Indians present—Iroquois, Algonquins, Abenakes and Ottawas; and to these he said:

"*Chiefs and Warriors*:—The great King, our common father, has considered with satisfaction the general conduct of the Indian tribes from the beginning of the troubles in America. The refuse of a small tribe at first were led astray, demonstrating to the world how few and how contemptible are the apostates. These pitiful examples excepted, the collective voices and hands of the Indian tribes over this vast continent are on the side of justice, of law, and of the King. The restraint you have put upon your resentment in waiting the king your father's call to arms, is the hardest proof to which your affections could have been put. The further patience of your father would, in his eyes, become culpable; it therefore remains for me, the general of one of his majesty's armies, and in this council his representative, to release you from those bonds which your obedience imposed. Warriors! you are free; go forth in might of your valor and your cause: strike at the common enemies of Great Britain and America, disturbers of public order, peace, and happiness; destroyers of commerce, parricides of the State. The circle round you, the chiefs of his majesty's European forces, and of the princes, his allies, esteem you

* "Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley," by WINSLOW C. WATSON. In this work of 231 octavo pages, Mr. Watson has given a large amount of hitherto unpublished information about the western side of Lake Champlain, drawn largely from the MSS. left by Mr. Gilliland, who had been a prosperous merchant in the city of New York. He purchased tracts of land on the west side of Lake Champlain, about the year 1765, and built him a residence there, a hundred miles from any Christian neighborhood. There, during the Revolution, he suffered heavily in person and estate, having been looked upon with suspicion by both parties in the conflict. Proofs are abundant that he was a true patriot.

as brothers in the war; emulous in glory and in friendship, we will reciprocally give and receive examples. Be it our task to regulate your passions when they overbear. I positively forbid bloodshed when you are not opposed in arms. Aged men, women, children, and prisoners, must be held sacred from the knife and hatchet, even in the time of actual conflict. You shall receive compensation for the prisoners you take, but you shall be called to account for scalps. In conformity and indulgence of your customs, which have affixed an idea of honor to such badges of victory, you shall be allowed to take the scalps of the dead when killed by your fire and in fair opposition; but on no account or pretence, or subtilty, or prevarication are they to be taken from the wounded or even the dying; and still less pardonable, if possible, will it be held to kill men in that condition on purpose, and upon a supposition that this protection to the wounded would be thereby evaded. Base, lurking assassins, incendiaries, ravagers, and plunderers of the country, to whatever army they may belong, shall be treated with less reserve; but the latitude must be given you by order; and I must be the judge of the occasion. Should the enemy, on their part, dare to countenance acts of barbarity towards those who may fall into their hands, it shall be yours to retaliate."

When Burgoyne had finished, an aged Indian chief arose and said:

"I stand up in the name of all the nations present, to assure our father that we have attentively listened to his discourse. We receive you as our father, because when you speak, we hear the voice of our great father beyond the great lake. We rejoice in the approbation you have expressed of our behavior. We have been tried and tempted by the Bostonians, but we loved our father, and our hatchets have been sharpened upon our affections. In proof of the sincerity of our professions, our whole villages able to go to war are come forth. The old and infirm, our infants and wives, alone remain at home. With one common consent we promise a constant obedience to all you have ordered and all you shall order; and may the Father of Days give you many and success."

Burgoyne's speech did not express the sentiments of the English people. Burke and Fox, in the House of Commons, denounced the employment of savages, and the latter censured the King for allowing them to enter the British camps; and in the House of Lords, when Suffolk contended that it was justifiable to use all the means which God and nature had put into British hands to crush the rebellion, Chatham invoked the most "decisive indignation

at these abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them." The British ministry made the false plea that if they had not employed the Indians, the Americans would have done so.

On the 24th of June the whole invading army on land and water moved toward Crown Point, and arrived there on the 26th. White men and Indians might have been seen stealthily coursing along the shores, in bark canoes, followed by three vessels, under full sail, and the radeau *Thunderer*, which had done excellent service on the lake in the last autumn. These composed a portion of the "fleet" which St. Clair's scouts had seen and reported to that General, who immediately sent off a courier to General Schuyler with the stirring news. Without a moment's delay, the latter sent expresses in every direction, calling, with the most intense anxiety, for the reinforcements so often promised and so long expected. To Washington, to the Governor of Connecticut, to the Presidents of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the Committee of Berkshire county, and the Committee of Safety of the State of New York, he sent earnest messages, urging each to send forward men and materials for turning back the invasion. Washington was then watching the movements of Gen. Howe, in New Jersey, with much perplexity, unable to determine whether he was about to go north or south. It was evident that he was about to go somewhere, for he had broken up his headquarters at Perth Amboy, and crossed over to Staten Island, whilst his troops had struck their tents, and marched to their old camping ground on the borders of New York Bay. His ships had weighed anchor, and passed round Staten Island, and there was every indication of a general movement in some direction. It was while Washington was trying to decide the question, Whither is General Howe

going? that the stirring news came down from Schuyler. He tried to interpret the real meaning of the movements of the enemy on Lake Champlain, but it was an enigma too deep for his penetration. Was this only a feint on the part of light troops and Indians, to occupy the attention of the Americans while the main army in Canada should come around by sea and join Howe at New York? was one of the many questions which arose in Washington's mind. If Burgoyne really intended to attack Ticonderoga, and push down into the valley of the Hudson, it must then be Howe's intention to push up the river, and meet him. But until Sir William should make some positive movement, Washington dared not stir, for if he should push his force toward the Hudson Highlands to prevent the enemy from passing up the river, Howe might suddenly go southward, and secure Philadelphia; if he pushed his forces in a direction to save that city, his enemy might make his way through the Highlands, and so on to the upper Hudson. He, therefore, kept his main army quiet, while he sent two brigades, under Parsons and Varnum, to Peekskill; ordered General George Clinton to call out the militia of Orange and Ulster counties; and directed General Putnam to summon forward the militia of Connecticut, and as soon as these reinforcements should be well in hand, to dispatch four of the strongest Massachusetts regiments to Ticonderoga. General Sullivan was ordered to advance with his division in the direction of the Highlands, as far as Paterson, in New Jersey, while Washington moved his own camp and headquarters back to Morristown, to be in a position to march in either direction. "If we can keep General Howe below the Highlands," he wrote to General Schuyler on the 2d of July, "I think their schemes will be entirely baffled."

CHAPTER X.

At the close of June General Schuyler was no longer left in doubt as to the real intentions of Burgoyne. It was then evident that the expected invasion was actually begun. The whole force of the invaders was composed of three thousand seven hundred and twenty-four British, rank and file; nearly four thousand Germans, mostly Brunswickers; two hundred and fifty Canadians, four hundred Indians, and four hundred and seventy-three artillerymen; in all between eight thousand and nine thousand men. That army was admirably equipped and officered. Its train of brass artillery was equal to any ever furnished to an army of like size, and were under the direct control of General William Phillips, who had been distinguished in the late wars in Germany.

What had Schuyler wherewith to oppose this formidable force? Only two thousand five hundred and forty-six Continentals and nine hundred militia (of the latter not one-tenth had bayonets), entrenched behind pretty strong works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. The former was composed of the old Fort which Ethan Allen and his men had captured on the morning of the 10th of May, 1775, and the latter was a star-fort chiefly constructed in 1776. These posts, on opposite sides of a narrow place in the lake, were connected by a floating bridge supported by twenty-two sunken piers in caissons. Between the piers were separate floats fifty feet in length

and twelve feet in width, connected by iron chains and clevises. On the north side of the bridge was a boom composed of heavy timbers, secured by riveted bolts, and a double iron chain with links an inch and a half square. The bridge and the boom were four hundred yards in length, and were covered by a battery at each end.

It was expected that these obstructions would be an effectual bar to the passage of vessels up the lake. There were also extensive outworks connected with Fort Ticonderoga, but there were not men enough to man them. There were eminences near, such as Sugar Loaf Hill and Mount Hope, which commanded Ticonderoga and its approaches, and which the Americans ought to have occupied, but could not on account of paucity of numbers; and Schuyler had only a few gathering militia below—too few to allow him to send a reinforcement to St. Clair without exposing points at which the enemy might pass to the rear of the Lake fortresses. At the same time he was compelled to make precautionary provisions for the expected invasion from the west, and he instructed General Nicholas Herkimer, who lived near the Little Falls of the Mohawk, to keep the Tryon County militia, of which he was the commander, in readiness to move for the protection of the western frontier. The general defences of the Americans at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence would have been ample in this emergency had Congress and the States furnished them with a sufficiency of men, materials of war and provisions: lacking them, they were weak.

At Crown Point, Burgoyne, who had left General Riedesel in command for a few days, resumed his position, and sent forth a pompous proclamation, intended by its menaces to awe the Americans into passiveness, and to

confirm the adherents to the crown in their position by a sense of the presence of overshadowing power. He claimed to speak "in consciousness of Christianity and the honor of soldiership," and began his manifesto in these words: "By John Burgoyne, Esquire, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces in America, Colonel of the Queen's regiment of Light Dragoons, Governor of Fort William, in North Britain, one of the Commoners of Great Britain in Parliament, and commander of an army and fleet employed in an expedition from Canada," et cetera. "The pompous manner," wrote Dr. Thatcher, "in which he arrayed his titles, would lead us to suppose that he considered them as more than a match for all the military force which we can bring against him." Then he uttered threats like these: "Let not people consider their distance from my camp; I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction, and they amount to thousands, to overtake the hardened enemies to Great Britain. If the frenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man in executing the vengeance of the State against the wilful outcasts. I consider them the same wherever they may lurk." Instead of frightening the people, the proclamation was treated with contempt, for it was felt that Burgoyne would have done, as he afterwards said he did, when apologizing for the employment of Indians, "talked daggers but did not use them."*

* The following poetical paraphrase of this proclamation, in Hudibrastic rhyme, was attributed to the witty Francis Hopkinson:

"I will let loose the dogs of hell,
Ten thousand Indians, who shall yell,
And foam and tear, and grin and roar,
And drench their moccasins in gore:

On the last day of June, in a general order, Burgoyne said: "The army embark to-morrow, to approach the enemy. The services required of this particular expedition are critical and conspicuous. During our progress, occasion may occur in which nor difficulty, nor labor, nor life are to be regarded. This army must not retreat." On the same day, St. Clair, to whom Schuyler had written hopefully on the 29th, with a prospect of moving up with some Continental troops and militia so soon as he could possibly set them in motion, and told him that he "hoped to have the pleasure of seeing him in possession of his post," wrote confidently to his chief, saying: "Should the enemy attack us, they will go back faster than they came." Also, on the same day, Major Henry Brockholst Livingston, Schuyler's aid-de-camp, who had been detained at Ticonderoga by sickness when his commander left for Albany, wrote to the General, saying:

"The enemy, after giving us several alarms, made their appearance early this morning, off Three-Mile Point, in eighteen gunboats, and, about nine, landed a party of two or three hundred Indians and Canadians. These soon fell in with a scout from us, but, being superior in number, obliged them to retreat, though without any loss on our side. The Indians then marched to the front of the French lines, drove in a

To these I'll give full scope and play
From Ticonderog to Florida.
They'll scalp your heads and kick your shins,
And up your—, and flay your skins,
And of your ears be nimble croppers,
And make your thumbs tobacco stoppers.
If after all these loving warnings,
My wishes and my bowels' yearnings,
You shall remain as deaf as adder,
Or grow with hostile rage the madder,
I swear by St. George and by St. Paul,
I will exterminate you all.
Subscribéd with my manual sign,
To test these presents.—JOHN BURGOYNE."

picket guard, and came so near as to wound two men who were standing behind the works. They have stopped the communication between this and Lake George.

"We have a fair view of their boats, but cannot see that they have brought many regulars with them. At least, the number of red coats in them is very small. The wind having been contrary for several days, has prevented their fleet from coming up. The first fair breeze, I shall expect to see them. Many bets are depending that we shall be attacked in the course of this week. Our troops are determined, and in great spirits. They wish to be permitted to drive the savages from Three Mile Point, but General St. Clair chooses to act on the sure side, and risk nothing. The few alarms we have had have been of great service in making the men alert and vigilant; but I am afraid the enemy will repeat them so frequently as to throw them into their former indolence and inattention. General St. Clair has taken the precaution to move most of the stores to the mount [Independence]. This moment two ships, and as many sloops, have hove in sight. The spirits of the men seem to increase in proportion to the number of the enemy.

"I cannot but esteem myself fortunate that indisposition prevented my returning with you, as it has given me an opportunity of being present at a battle in which I promise myself the pleasure of seeing our army flushed with victory."

But Schuyler could not repress his apprehensions about the safety of the post. To Colonel Varick he wrote on the 1st of July:

"The insufficiency of the garrison at Ticonderoga, the imperfect state of the fortifications, and the want of discipline in the troops, give me great cause to apprehend that we shall lose that fortress, but as a reinforcement is coming up from Peekskill, with which I shall move up, I am in hopes that the enemy will be prevented from making any further progress."*

At this time Schuyler had some domestic annoyance that disturbed him. His eldest daughter, Angelica, a beautiful and brilliant girl, had married against his wishes and his desires expressed to her lover, that he should cease paying his addresses to her. In a letter to his friend, William Duer, written on the 3d of July, he said: "Carter and my eldest daughter ran off and married on the 23d inst. Unacquainted with his family, his connections and situation

* Autograph letter.

in life, the match was exceedingly disagreeable to me, and I had signified it to him. But as there is no undoing this gordian knot, I took what I hope you will think the prudent part: I frowned, I made them humble themselves, forgave, and called them home."*

The bright expectations of St. Clair and others were soon disappointed. On the morning of the first of July, the beginning of a brilliant hot day, the whole invading force, excepting a guard left to protect Crown Point, moved up the lake in perfect order, in two divisions, with the fleet between them. The corps of General Phillips composed the right wing, moving on the west side of the lake, and the German troops of General Riedesel formed the left wing, moving on the east side. The dragoons formed the advanced guard of the whole. Toward evening both wings halted within about three miles of Forts Ticonderoga and Independence, while the fleet anchored between them just out of the range of the American guns. From the flag-ship *Royal George*, on which was General Burgoyne, it was easy to survey the position of the patriots at the two forts.

* His name was John Carter Church. He came to this country from England under the name of Carter, and married as such. Why he dropped his family name, is not known. He appears to have been a man of large wealth and good social standing in England. He returned to England some time after his marriage, and resumed his family name. He was a member of Parliament, and was intimate with the Prince of Wales and his party friends. I have seen a letter from Mrs. Church to her brother, describing a ball given at her house in London, at which the Prince Regent and all notabilities were present. They returned to New York, where they lived in grand style for those days. There Mrs. (Carter) Church died, and her husband returned to England. His son, Philip Church, owned a beautiful seat called Belvidere, about three miles from the village of Angelica, in Alleghany county, New York. The village was so named in honor of his mother.

At the halting-place Burgoyne began to throw up intrenchments and to construct a boom across the lake. The latter movement, when reported to Schuyler by St. Clair, gave him hopes that the enemy was not as strong as had been represented, nor were intending to make a serious attack. "The enemy," he wrote to General Heath, on the 3d, "have approached to within three miles of Ticonderoga, where they are intrenching themselves, and also are throwing a boom across the lake. This does not convey with it an idea that they have any great force;" and to the President of the State of Massachusetts, he wrote on the same day: "The enemy, from late manœuvres, do not appear to be in any great force." General Schuyler was then in great perplexity. His hourly expectation of the arrival of reinforcements was almost continually disappointed. News had come that savages had been attacking and scalping settlers in the vicinity of Fort Schuyler; that Indians and Tories were harassing the settlements on the upper waters of the Susquehanna; that Brant, a young and powerful Mohawk Chief, had threatened much, and that the prospect of a near invasion by a motley horde of British, Canadians and Indians, by way of Oswego, had spread great terror throughout Tryon County, the inhabitants of which were calling to him most piteously for protection, and had said: "If not succored, the well-affected people of these frontiers will be left in such a dilemma that will render them obliged either to abandon their habitations or submit to the terms of the friends of Great Britain, *seeing themselves out of the protection of the States of America.*" He immediately wrote to the committee of Tryon County, entreating them to keep up the spirits of the people and encourage them to act promptly

when called upon, and their enemies would be baffled. "Do not suppose," he said, "that the United States of America will not afford you protection. I am sure I have been always ready and willing to afford every assistance in my power, and hitherto it has been effectual, for no mischief worth mentioning has, as yet, been perpetrated in any part of your county, and you may depend upon it that upon no necessary occasion will you be left without support." To George Clymer, in Congress, he wrote: "The enemy are harassing us in every quarter of this department. They have begun their scalpings at Fort Schuyler and at Ticonderoga. I am, however, happily, thank God, in full health and spirits to enable me to extend my attentions to the various quarters, and hope we shall do well." Colonel Van Schaick, then in Tryon County with a regiment of Continental troops, was directed to remain there; and he exhorted Herkimer to keep up the spirits of the people. "If we act with vigor and spirit," he said, "we have nothing to fear; but if once despondency takes place the worst consequences are to be apprehended."

Meanwhile Schuyler was awaiting with impatience and anxiety the arrival of promised troops from Peekskill, for whom he had sent down sloops. They had not yet arrived on the 5th, when he wrote to Congress: "If they do not arrive by to-morrow I shall go on without them and do the best I can with the militia." Pursuant to this resolution, he set out on the morning of the 7th without the Continentals, and with only a handful of militia, and at Stillwater he was met by the most astounding news from Ticonderoga. Burgoyne's army had been exceedingly active. On the morning of the 2d the right wing was pushed forward, and St. Clair hoped and believed they

were about to make a direct attack on his position. The small American detachments at the outposts toward Lake George made a feeble resistance and then abandoned their works and fled to Ticonderoga. This was followed by the swift advance of Generals Phillips and Frazer with a corps of infantry and some light artillery, not against the fort, but to take possession of Mount Hope, that commanded the road to Lake George. This they accomplished, and so cut off all supplies for the garrison from Fort George. This movement was followed by the most active exertions of the enemy in bringing up their artillery, ammunition and stores, to fortify and maintain their new position; and on the 4th, Frazer's whole brigade occupied Mount Hope, the name then given to it by that general, in allusion to the hopes its possession gave them of dislodging the Americans. Meanwhile the whole left wing had been pushed forward to the advanced camp of Colonel Breyman, in front of Fort Independence, where they were cannonaded by a water-battery attached to that fortification.

All was quiet on the 3d, excepting the sounds of an occasional cannon shot, or the distant sputtering of musketry in short conflicts between pickets, and in the afternoon the floating battery arrived.

On the 4th, General Phillips seized the mills at the falls of the outlet of Lake George, and hemmed in Ticonderoga on that side, and the *Thunderer* arrived and landed heavy guns at Three Mile Point.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant Twiss, Burgoyne's chief engineer, had reconnoitred Sugar Loaf Hill, and reported that it not only commanded the whole of the American works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, but that a road

to the top, suitable for the conveyance of cannon, though difficult, might be made in the space of twenty-four hours. It was at once resolved to erect a battery on its summit, and, by arduous and continued labor, a road was cleared on the night of the 4th of July, and heavy guns were placed there. Then the British gave the name of Mount Defiance to Sugar Loaf Hill, for from that height they might defy the guns of the Americans.

All this was done so secretly that the first intimation St. Clair had of it, was the startling sight, at dawn on the morning of the 5th, of that lofty summit glowing with the scarlet uniforms of British troops, surrounding heavy artillery, that stood threateningly there. It was an appalling sight to the Americans below. It seemed more like the lingering apparitions of a night vision than the terrible reality they were forced to acknowledge it to be. From that height the enemy could look down into the fortress, count every man, inspect all the movements, and with eyes and great guns command all the works of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence.

St. Clair immediately called a council of war. The state of the case was laid before them. The garrison then consisted of only thirty-three hundred men, with only two-thirds of them effective. They were not sufficient to man one-half of the works; General Schuyler had not sufficient toops to reinforce or relieve them; the enemy's batteries were nearly ready to hurl shot and shell down upon them from the height, seven hundred feet above them, and a complete investment of the place would be accomplished within twenty-four hours. He thought nothing could save the little army from destruction or capture. So thought all his officers, and it was agreed to fly. It was a critical

moment in the life of St. Clair. To remain, would be to lose his army; to retreat, would be to lose his character. He was willing to sacrifice himself for his troops, and at about two o'clock on the morning of the 6th of July the garrison were put in motion. As every movement might be seen in the daytime from Mount Defiance, nothing was done to excite the suspicions of the enemy until after dark. Nor was the determination of the council made known to the troops until that hour, and the evening order was given.

One regiment of invalids, and such baggage, ammunition and stores as there was time to place in two hundred batteaux, were sent up the lake to Skenesborough, now Whitehall, under a convoy of five armed galleys, while the main army was to pass on, by land, for the same place, by way of Castleton. The cannon that might not be taken away, were spiked. Each soldier was furnished with provisions for several days; and, previous to striking their tents, every light was extinguished, as if the garrison had gone to its night's repose. To allay all suspicion, a continued cannonade was kept up on Mount Independence. These arrangements were all completed in the space of a few hours, but not without a good deal of confusion.

At about three o'clock on Sunday morning, the 6th of July, the garrison of Ticonderoga crossed the bridge to Mount Independence. The waning moon was too pale, even in her unclouded brightness, to betray the fugitives in the toils of their preparations, or in their flight, and they felt certain that before daylight should discover their withdrawal, they would be too far on their way to make pursuit hopeful. But their hopes were blasted by General De Fermoy, the commander on Mount Independence, who,

in violation of express orders to the contrary, set fire to the house he had occupied, just as the troops left. The light of that conflagration revealed the whole scene and movements to the enemy, the consciousness of which heightened the confusion and disorder among the retreating patriots.

The rear-guard of the fugitives, commanded by Colonel Francis, left the Mount at about four o'clock in the morning, and the whole body pressed forward in regular order toward Hubbardton, in Vermont, where, after two hours halting, they were pretty well organized. The main army then marched into the forests, for Castleton, six miles further. The rear-guard and stragglers picked up by the way were placed under the command of Colonel Seth Warner, and remained at Hubbardton, awaiting the arrival of some who were left behind.

So soon as the British discovered the retreat of the Americans from Ticonderoga, General Frazer began an eager pursuit of them from Mount Hope, with only his pickets, leaving orders for his brigade to follow. At the dawn of day he unfurled the British flag over Ticonderoga, and before sunrise he had passed the bridge and Mount Independence, and was in hot pursuit of the fugitives. Riedesel, with Breyman, who were on that side of the lake, joined in the chase with the German troops, while Burgoyne, who was yet on the *Royal George*, prepared for an immediate pursuit of the batteaux and convoy. The Americans supposed their boom would effectually bar the passage of the enemy's fleet; but it was soon cleft asunder, and long before noon a free passage was made for the British gunboats and frigates, and the whole flotilla were crowding sail before a favorable breeze to overtake the fugitives. They were successful. Bat-

teauxs and galleys, baggage and stores, with which the Americans left Ticonderoga, were all destroyed at Skenesborough, by the armies, who set fire to them, excepting two batteaux that were burned before the sun went down behind the mountains that border Lake George. The troops under Colonel Long finding themselves unsupported at Skenesborough, fired the vessels, fort, mills, and block houses there, and made their way to Fort Anne. General Schuyler was informed that "not one earthly thing was saved."

The astounding news which reached Schuyler at Stillwater (or rather between Stillwater and Saratoga) was that of the evacuation of Ticonderoga, so unexpected, and entirely unauthorized by him. He met Colonel Udney Hay, deputy quartermaster-general, who was on his way with the intelligence. At his home, at Saratoga, he immediately dispatched an officer with orders for General St. Clair, wherever he might be, to march by the nearest route for Fort Anne or Fort Edward. He also directed him, "or officer commanding the troops from Ticonderoga," to "send out strong parties to bring away the inhabitants to the north and northeast of Skenesborough." If that should not be practicable then, he positively ordered all their cattle of whatever kind, together with wheel carriages, to be brought away or destroyed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. Then he wrote a brief letter to General Washington, announcing the disaster. He had then too little information upon which to form a resolution as to future movements. "It is impossible," he wrote, "to say what post we shall take. It depends upon the route the enemy mean to pursue. My prospect of preventing them from penetrating is not

much. They have an army flushed with victory, and plentifully provided with provisions, cannon, and every warlike store; our army, if it should once more collect, is weak in numbers, dispirited, naked, in a manner destitute of provisions, without camp equipage, with little ammunition, and not one single piece of cannon."

Such was the truthful and sad picture which Schuyler drew of the garrison just driven from Ticonderoga—a picture of which Congress and the New England States ought to have been heartily ashamed. Day after day, week after week, and month after month, Schuyler had been calling anxiously upon these authorities for strength in men and supplies to resist the inevitable invasion from the north, but almost in vain, for faction in and out of Congress was then sadly interfering with the generous impulses of patriotism. A few more men and munitions of war would have allowed him to fortify and garrison the commanding points around Ticonderoga, to strengthen that post and Mount Independence, and their revetments, and made it impossible for all the forces in Canada to move beyond Crown Point. But these were withheld until the last moment, and this sad disaster was the consequence.

Yet Schuyler did not complain nor despair, but set himself at work more vigorously than ever to repair the mischief, or, at least, to prevent any more and greater disasters. In the letter to Washington, above mentioned, he added to his account of the condition of the army the following requisitions:

"In this situation it is of the most urgent necessity that your Excellency should afford me a very respectable reinforcement besides that now coming up [from Peekskill] under Brigadier-general Nixon, for it will be impossible for me to keep the militia together any time in a country very thinly inhabited, in which they cannot find shelter and must be exposed to the weather.

"As the Continental troops have lost everything, your Excellency will please to order up to me, the soonest possible, tents for four thousand men, five hundred camp-kettles, a quantity of fixed musket ammunition, cartridge paper, twelve pieces heavy cannon with travelling carriages, sixteen field-pieces, and a considerable quantity of ammunition for them. A competent number of artillerymen in addition to Major Steven's corps, so as to be sufficient to manage the artillery. All the implements necessary to the artillery, horses, harness and drivers, with about six hundred intrenching tools sorted, excluding pick-axes, of which we have a considerable number. Please to send me a good Engineer or two."

To the Council of Safety of New York, he wrote:

"I have not above seven hundred Continental troops and twice that number of militia to oppose the enemy, and not a single piece of artillery. In this situation my prospect is not very agreeable. I wish for all the militia, from every quarter, to come up with all expedition. If the Council of Safety, or at least part of it, were immediately to repair to Albany, it might have a good effect, as I have hardly anybody to help me."

To other local authorities General Schuyler wrote on the same day, and that night he pushed on to Fort Edward. There he could hear nothing concerning the whereabouts of General St. Clair and his army. To General Washington he communicated this alarming fact, and added:

"I am here, at the head of a handful of men—not above fifteen hundred—without provisions, very little ammunition—not above five rounds to a man—having neither balls, or lead to make any; the country in the deepest consternation. No carriages to move the stores from Fort George, which, I expect to learn every moment, is attacked, and what adds to my distress is that a report prevails that I had given orders for the evacuation of Ticonderoga, when not the most distant hint of such an intention can be drawn from any of my letters to General St. Clair, or any other person whatever. I am informed, from undoubted authority, that the garrison was reinforced with twelve hundred men, at least two days before its evacuation, and that eighty head of cattle had got in and a number of sheep. What could induce the general officers to a step which has ruined our affairs in this quarter, God only knows."

It was not true that the garrison had been reinforced, nor that beeves and sheep had gone into the fort, as related. But, under this erroneous impression, Schuyler wrote to

the Council of Safety of New York, on the same day: "What could induce General St. Clair and the general officers with him to evacuate Ticonderoga, God only knows; not a battery, as I am well informed, was opened against it. The garrison amounted to about five thousand men, in high spirits, healthy, sufficiently supplied with provisions, plenty of ammunition, and the Eastern militia in full march to its aid." He then spoke of the evacuation being imputed to his orders, and made a most emphatic denial of the truth of the allegations. Pierre Van Cortlandt, the President of that Council, immediately wrote to General Putnam, enclosing extracts from Schuyler's letter, and assuring him that they would promptly transmit to him whatever intelligence they might receive from the North. "The evacuation of Ticonderoga," Mr. Van Cortlandt proceeded to say, "appears to the Council highly reprehensible, and it gives them great pain to find that a measure so absurd, and probably criminal, should be imputed to the direction of General Schuyler, in whose zeal, vigilance and integrity the Council repose the highest confidence."

CHAPTER XI.

When the news of the evacuation of Ticonderoga spread over the country, with the wild exaggeration incident to first and imperfect reports, it produced a storm of indignant clamor, especially amongst the uninformed, and those who were least competent to judge the matter intelligently; and General Schuyler's old enemies in and out of Congress, of every sort, from the small politician to the aspirant for the honors of his office, saw, in the fact that the disaster had occurred in the department over which he was chief captain, a circumstance most favorable for the renewal of their warfare upon his character, and availed themselves of it. He was not only charged with the blunder of ordering St. Clair to abandon the post, but the tongues of "envy, hatred and malice" spoke freely of his incompetence, and some accused him of treason. Others spoke of his cowardice, because he was not present at the evacuation; and the absurd stories were circulated and believed, that he had ordered the heavy cannons from the fort and substituted lighter ones for them. It was even said that the price of his treason, in British gold, was enclosed in hollow balls shot by the enemy into his lines. Even honest Samuel Adams had been so far influenced by the drift of New England opinion, in regard to Schuyler, that he had been the most persistent partisan of Gates in Congress, and the moment he heard of the disaster, and without waiting for knowledge upon the subject, he indulged

in most ungenerous reflections upon Schuyler's incompetency.

"We have letters from General Schuyler, in the Northern Department," he wrote to Richard Henry Lee, from Philadelphia, on the 15th of July, "giving us an account of the untoward situation of our affairs in that quarter. I confess it is no more than I expected when he [Schuyler] was again appointed to the command there. You know that it was urg'd by some gentlemen, that as he had a large interest and powerful connections in that part of the country, no one could so readily avail himself of supplies for an army there, if wanted upon any emergency, as he could. A most substantial reason why he should have been appointed a quarter-master or a Commissary. But it seems to have been a prevailing motive to appoint him to the chief command. You have his account in the enclosed newspaper, which leaves us to guess what is become of the garrison. It is indeed droll enough to see a general not knowing where to find the main body of his army! Gates is the man of my choice. He is honest and true, and has the art of gaining the love of his soldiers, particularly because he is always present and shares with them in fatigue and danger. But Gates has been disgusted! We are hourly expecting to be relieved from this disagreeable state of uncertainty, by a particular account from some person who was near the army, who trusts not to memory altogether, lest some circumstances may be omitted while others are misapprehended."

But honest Samuel Adams lived long enough to know that his sneers at Schuyler's incompetency (like those he had uttered about Washington's "Fabian policy"), and his commendation of Gates, "the man of his choice," were not only errors of judgment, but great blunders; and his biographer thus comments upon the result of his persevering and successful efforts in Congress to obtain Schuyler's removal: "Time has removed from General Schuyler all blame in the disasters, and the investigation of his conduct resulted in his honorable acquittal. The substitution of Gates gave to the country a general who was in no respect superior to Schuyler, than whom a braver or more trustworthy patriot never lived."

The effect and result of the attacks upon General

Schuyler will be noticed as we proceed in the narrative of events after the evacuation of Ticonderoga.

We left St. Clair making his way, through the forests, toward Fort Edward, on the upper Hudson, leaving the rear-guard and stragglers with Col. Warner, at Hubbardton. We also left Col. Long, with the few who had escaped to Skenesborough by water, hotly pursued toward Fort Anne. The latter was a tumultuous retreat. The fugitives, in going up the lake in conscious safety, had been full of merriment. They had made jokes at Burgoyne's expense, feeling that they had nicely tricked him; and they knocked off the necks of bottles of wine at dawn, and drank deeply a *reveille* to the British commander. They arrived at Skenesborough at three o'clock in the afternoon, and were leisurely debarking, when the booming of great guns, a short distance below, startled them. Burgoyne's frigates and gunboats had attacked the American convoy galleys. The latter defended themselves desperately for a while, when two were compelled to strike their colors, and the remaining three were blown up by their crews.

In the midst of the wild confusion which this sudden attack produced, the fugitives from the galleys reported that the British and Indians were swarming on shore, with the intention of gaining the rear of Long and the garrison at Skenesborough. An immediate flight of both was agreed upon; so they set fire to the batteaux, store-houses, the mills and the fort, and then fled, pell-mell, toward Fort Anne, twelve miles distant, pursued by a portion of the 9th British regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Hill. Some of Long's people made their way up Wood Creek, in boats, as far as possible, while the main body, led by the Colonel, retreated along a narrow defile cut through

the woods. They were all night long on their way, harassed and worried continually by reports that the Indians were close upon them. At daybreak, Long's command reached Fort Anne, a small picketed work that had been built during the French and Indian war. It was within about sixteen miles of Fort Edward, at which place Schuyler arrived the following night, and immediately sent forward, from his scanty force, some troops, provisions and ammunition, for the relief of Long, and an urgent request that he should hold the post as long as possible.

On the morning of the 8th of July, Long's scouts brought him word that the woods not far distant were glowing with red-coats. At about ten o'clock the colonel led his men out to meet them, and took post in a narrow rocky defile, through which flowed Wood Creek, about three-quarters of a mile north of Fort Anne. As the British advanced, Long opened a heavy fire upon them in front, while a part of his men, re-crossing the creek, and taking position upon ground covered with woods with which they were well acquainted, kept up a shifting attack from their covert, in front and rear. This caused the British, who were apprehensive of being surrounded, to take post upon a hill to their right, where they were besieged for nearly two hours, when some of their Indian allies came up. Long's ammunition was then too nearly exhausted to allow him to cope with the fresh foe, and he ordered a retreat to Fort Anne, whither he carried several prisoners, among them a captain and surgeon. Supposing Hill's regiment to be the advance-guard of the whole of Burgoyne's army, Long set fire to the fort, and fled to Fort Edward, where he informed General Schuyler of the

disaster at Skenesborough, and that nothing had been heard from St. Clair and the main body of the army. This astounding intelligence, communicated to Washington by Schuyler, perplexed him. "It is astonishing beyond expression," he wrote from Pompton Plains, "that you have heard nothing from St. Clair and the army under him. I am totally at a loss to conceive what has become of them. The whole affair is so mysterious that it even baffles conjecture."

The mystery was soon solved. We have seen that General Frazer was in hot pursuit of the fugitives from Ticonderoga on the morning of the 6th of July, followed by Riedesel's corps of reserves, and Colonel Breyman, in accordance with the following order issued by General Burgoyne:

"Brigadier Frazer, with twenty companies of English grenadiers and light infantry, shall march to Castleton, and Skenesborough, and attack the enemy who have retreated by land. General Riedesel, with his corps of reserves, under Breyman, and the infantry regiment of Riedesel, shall follow the corps of Frazer and support it in case of attack. The fleet and the rest of the army shall pursue their way to Skenesborough by water, and attack the fleet of the rebels, and that part of their army which have taken their way thence by water."

That no time might be lost, Riedesel took a company of yagers, and an advanced-guard of eighty men from Breyman's corps, and hastened to the support of Frazer, leaving orders for the rest of that corps, and his own regiment, to follow immediately. It was a most fatiguing chase, for the weather was extremely hot. They did not overtake the fugitives that day; and after a march of nearly eighteen miles, Frazer, learning from some Tory scouts that they were not far in advance, ordered his men to lie upon their arms that night, and be ready to move forward at three o'clock the next morning. He had been overtaken by Riedesel, and it was agreed that both corps

should push forward together for Castleton and Skenesborough, by way of Hubbardton. They accordingly moved at the appointed hour, Frazer with eight hundred men in advance, and at five o'clock encountered the American sentries, who discharged their muskets, fled to camp and aroused their comrades to arms. These consisted of the regiments of Warner, Francis, and Hale, and stragglers from the main army, and numbered about one thousand three hundred.

The Americans were then at breakfast, but not unprepared. Frazer pressed forward and attacked them with great spirit, expecting to have the immediate support of the Germans. But they were tardy. His attack was received with equal spirit, and a fierce battle ensued. Colonel Hale, whose own health, and that of a large number of his regiment was feeble, did not long continue the combat, but withdrew in haste and fled to Castleton, hoping to join the main army, under St. Clair, there. On his way Hale fell in with a British detachment, to whom he surrendered himself and men without offering any resistance, although their numbers were about equal. So Warner and Francis were left to continue the conflict with only seven hundred men. From behind logs and trees they poured forth a destructive fire. For a while there was no perceptible gain on either side. The British got possession of the Castleton road, and so barred the retreat of the Americans in that direction; but so galling and incessant was the fire of the latter, that Frazer was about to give way, when Riedesel appeared with drums beating and banners flying. He had pressed forward as fast as the rough roads would allow, after hearing the firing, and arrived just in time to secure a victory for the British.

His chasseurs, under Major Barner, were immediately brought into action in support of Frazer's left flank, which the Americans were about to turn, and at the same moment the whole of the British forces made a bayonet charge with terrible effect. The Americans, supposing the Germans to be in full force, broke and fled in wildest confusion, some over the Pittsford Mountains, toward Rutland, and others down the valley toward Castleton. The Americans lost in the battle three hundred and twenty-four, killed, wounded and made prisoners. The brave Colonel Francis was slain by a bullet while gallantly fighting at the head of his men, and was buried by Riedesel's troops. The British loss was one hundred and eighty-three, among whom were Major Pratt and about twenty inferior officers. The British also captured about two hundred stand of arms.

St. Clair was near Castleton, with the militia, when he heard the firing at Hubbardton, and he attempted to send back a force to the relief of Warner, but those followers absolutely refused to go. His Continental troops were then too far on their way toward Fort Edward to be instantly recalled. St. Clair had just then learned, too, that Burgoyne was at Skenesborough, and, fearing to encounter him at Fort Anne, he turned his whole army, and struck off to his left, through the woods, toward Rutland, uncertain whether he should proceed to the upper waters of the Connecticut River or to Fort Edward. He left word for Warner to follow him to Rutland. The latter joined him two days afterward, with his broken forces reduced to ninety men, and was sent to Manchester, north of Bennington, to form a nucleus for the getting of recruits. On the 12th, St. Clair reached Fort Edward, his

troops (at Fort Miller, a few miles below) in the most pitiable condition, after their wanderings in the woods of Vermont for a week. He had only fifteen hundred regulars, the militia having all returned to their homes. So the mystery of St. Clair's disappearance was solved.

The disaster sustained by the Americans, because of their abandonment of Ticonderoga, was immense in every way, the worst of which was the moral effect. Compared with this, the one hundred and eighty pieces of artillery, ammunition and stores, and water craft, that were lost, were as nothing. The army was disheartened, and made so discontented that almost one-half of Schuyler's force which he gathered at Fort Edward left his camp, a few for that of the enemy, and the remainder for their homes. Disappointment was felt through the whole country, and the greatest consternation prevailed in Northern New York. Albanians were seized with a panic; and, according to a letter written to Schuyler by Colonel Varick, the people there ran about as if distracted, and sent off their goods and furniture.*

It was hard to perceive a reason for the abandonment of the lake fortresses. "The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence is an event of chagrin and surprise not apprehended, nor within the compass of my reasoning," Washington wrote to Schuyler, from "the Clove," on the 15th of July. "I know not upon what principle it was founded, and I should suppose it still more difficult to be accounted for, if the garrison amounted to five thousand men, in high spirits, healthy, well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and the Eastern militia marching to their succor, as you mention in your letter of

* Autograph Letter, July 10, 1777.

the 9th, to the Council of Safety of New York." He added: "We should never despair. Our situation has before been unpromising, and has changed for the better; so, I trust, it will be again." On the 18th, when his ears were filled with clamors against both Schuyler and St. Clair, and he had not yet heard any reasons for the evacuation, Washington wrote to the former:

"I will not condemn, or even pass a censure upon any officer unheard; but I think it a duty which General St. Clair owes to his own character, to insist upon an opportunity of giving the reasons for his sudden evacuation of a post which, but a few days before, he, by his own letters, thought tenable, at least for a while. People at a distance are apt to form wrong conjectures; and if General St. Clair had good reasons for the step he has taken, I think the sooner he justifies himself the better. I have mentioned these matters because he may not know that his conduct is looked upon as very unaccountable by all ranks of people in this part of the country. If he is reprehensible, the public have an undeniable right to call for that justice which is due from an officer who betrays or gives up his post in an unwarrantable manner."

The officers and men of the invading army were highly elated by the event, and believed themselves to be invincible and irresistible. They regarded the Americans with great contempt; believed that their own toils were nearly at an end, and that Albany would soon be their resting-place, and New York their speedy point of departure for home. A similar feeling was produced in England when the news of the evacuation of Ticonderoga reached that country. The belief was soon general that the unconditional surrender of the colonists was an event near at hand, and all the "contemptuous and most degrading charges which had been made by their enemies of their wanting the resolutions and abilities of men, even in defence of what was dear to them, were now repeated and believed."*

* History of the Civil War in America, i. 283.

From Skenesborough, Burgoyne sent forth an exultant general order, on the 10th of July, opening with the statement that "The rebels evacuated Ticonderoga on the 6th, having been forced into the measure by the presence of our army. On one side of the lake they ran as far as Skenesborough; on the other side as far as Hubbardton. They left behind all their artillery, provisions and baggage," et cetera. He made a peremptory call upon the inhabitants of that region to render immediate submission, and to send deputations to Colonel Skene, who had become an active partisan, to make terms, believing that, under the circumstances, immediate obedience would be rendered. This might have been effectual with the poor, frightened inhabitants, had not General Schuyler promptly put a check to the movement by a vigorous counter-proclamation, as follows:

"To the Inhabitants of Castle Town, of Hubbardton, Rutland, Tinmouth, Paulet, Wells, Granville with the Neighboring Districts, also the Districts bordering on White Creek, Cambden, Cambridge, etc., etc.

"Whereas Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne, commanding an Army of the British Troops, Did by a written paper by him subscribed, bearing Date at Skenesborough House on the 10th day of July instant, require you to send from your several townships, deputations consisting of ten persons or more from each township, to meet Colonel Skene at Castletown, on Wednesday July 15th at ten in the morning for sundry purposes in the said paper mentioned and that you were not to fail in paying obedience thereto under pain of military execution:

"Whatever, my countrymen, may be the ostensible reasons for such meeting, it is evidently intended by the enemy then to prevail on you, by threats and promises, to forsake the cause of your injured country; to assist them in forcing slavery on the United States of America, and under the specious pretext of affording you protection to bring on you that misery which their promises of protection drew on such of the deluded inhabitants of New Jersey who were weak enough to confide in them, but who soon experienced their Fallacy, by being treated, indiscriminately with those virtuous citizens who came forth in defence of their country, with the most wanton barbarities, and such as hitherto hath not even disgraced Barbarians. They

cruelly butchered without distinction to age or sex; ravished children from ten to women of eighty years of age; they burnt, pillaged and destroyed whatever came into their power, nor did those edifices dedicated to the worship of Almighty God escape their sacrilegious fury. Such were the deeds, such they were incontestably proved to be, which have marked the British Arms with the most indelible stains. But they having, by the blessing of divine Providence on our arms, been obliged totally to abandon that State, they left those that were weak or wicked enough to take protection under them to bemoan their credulity and to cast themselves on the mercy of their injured countrymen. Such will be your state, if you lend a willing ear to their promises, which, I trust, none of you will do. But lest any of you should so far forget the duty you owe to your country, as to join with, or in any manner of way assist or give comfort to, or hold correspondence with, or take protection from the enemy; be it known to each and every of you the inhabitants of said townships, or any other the inhabitants of the United States, that you will be considered and dealt with as traitors to said States and that the Laws thereof will be put in execution against every person so offending, with the utmost vigor. And I do hereby strictly enjoin and command all officers civil and military to apprehend or cause to be apprehended all such offenders. And I do further strictly enjoin and command such of the militia of said townships as have not yet marched, to do so without delay, to join the army under my command, or some detachment thereof.

"Given under my hand at Head Quarters.

"*Fort Edward, July* 13*th*, 1777.

"By the General's Command."

Burgoyne sent back General Phillips to Ticonderoga to superintend the transportation of the artillery, provisions and baggage to Lake George, to be sent in vessels up to Fort George and thence by land to Fort Edward, which was his next place of destination; and on the 21st he made a reconnoitring expedition in the direction of that post. Meanwhile he had received the news of the arrival of a ship at Three Rivers, in the St. Lawrence, with a reinforcement from England; and St. Luc and Langlade, two Canadian French partisans, had arrived in his camp with about one thousand Indian braves from the Ottawas and other tribes of the upper country, "painted and decorated," says Irving, "with savage magnificence,

and bearing trophies of former triumphs." With these Indians Burgoyne expected to strike terror to the hearts of the Americans, and he also intended to send them on a forage to the upper valley of the Connecticut river, to force from the inhabitants provisions for his army. With these forces in hand Burgoyne now made immediate preparations for an advance.

In the meantime General Schuyler had been putting forth extraordinary exertions to prevent further losses, and to oppose the expected forward movement of Burgoyne. So early as the 10th he wrote to General Ten Broeck that he had saved about forty pieces of cannon and fifteen tons of gunpowder, by removing them from Fort George, and said: "If the enemy will give me three or four more days' time after General St. Clair joins, I believe they will not see Albany this campaign." He had then sent out General Fellows with a detachment to break up the roads and bridges, and to fell trees in the way of Burgoyne's expected march from Fort Anne to Fort Edward; and he had managed to have a letter fall into Burgoyne's hands which perplexed him exceedingly. He was so "completely duped and puzzled by it for several days," says Stedman, "that he was at a loss whether to advance or retreat."*

Schuyler also called earnestly upon General Nixon to push on, by forced marches, from Albany, with the troops he brought up from Peekskill. "The least delay," he said, "in marching up your brigade, will certainly be attended, with the most fatal consequences. Let me therefore entreat you to march night and day to come up with me." But he was no less than four days marching the forty-six

* The History of the Origin, Progress and Termination of the American War, vol. i. page 326.

miles. "From the slowness with which he moved," Schuyler wrote to Washington, "I was led to conclude that he was at the head of a formidable body, but to my great mortification I find the whole to consist of five hundred and seventy-five, rank and file, fit for duty, and eleven sick; several of them are negroes, and many of them young, small and feeble boys." This force he immediately ordered to Fort Anne, to assist in putting obstacles in the way of Burgoyne's advance.

Two regiments of militia from the State of Massachusetts, sent to supply in part the deficiencies of other regiments from that State, left in a body and went home; and of the four thousand five hundred men which Schuyler gathered at Fort Edward and its vicinity, after the evacuation of Ticonderoga, including the broken army of St. Clair, nearly one-half, utterly dispirited and insubordinate, left his camp. "Desertions prevail, and disease gains ground," Schuyler wrote to Washington; "nor is it to be wondered at, for we have neither tents, houses, barns, boards, or any shelter, excepting a little brush. Every rain that falls, and we have it in great abundance almost every day, wets the men to the skin. We are, besides, in great want of every kind of necessaries, provisions excepted. Camp-kettles we have so few that we cannot afford above one to twenty men." He then spoke of having saved about thirty pieces of light artillery, but he had not a single carriage for them, so that his whole train of effective artillery consisted of two iron field-pieces which General Nixon brought up with him. "I have, indeed, written to Springfield for the cannon which were there," he wrote to Washington, "but the answer I got was that they were all ordered another way. I have also written to

Boston," he continued, "not that I expect anything will be sent me, but that I may stand justified, for I have never yet been able to get much of anything from thence. In this situation, I can only look up to your Excellency for relief; and permit me to entreat you to send me a reinforcement of troops, and such a supply of artillery, ammunition and every other necessary (except provisions and powder) as an army ought to have, if it can possibly be spared. If the enemy will permit me to pass unmolested, three days longer, to Fort George," he added, "I shall be able to bring away all the stores from thence, and then draw off the few troops we have there." He then informed Washington that, accompanied by the general officers and engineers (of whom Kosciusczko, the eminent Pole, was chief), he had chosen a more defensible place than Fort Edward, at Moses' Creek, four or five miles below that post, whither he was then moving a part of his army and stores, while he proposed to remain at Fort Edward until Fort George should be evacuated, or so long as the enemy would permit.

Washington promised, and anxiously desired, to give Schuyler all the aid in his power, for he fully appreciated his great labors and distresses; but he was then watching Howe, and could not spare a man from his necessarily extended line of observation. "Weakening ourselves in a material manner," he wrote, "would make us an easy prey for General Howe, who, though he has embarked the greatest part of his army, still lies under Staten Island, and might suddenly re-land;" and it was thought prudent not to send any more troops to Schuyler than the remainder of Nixon's brigade, then on its way to Peekskill. He wrote that General Glover's brigade was ordered to

be held in readiness to be sent when circumstances warranted it.

At Schuyler's earnest request that he should send a spirited general officer, acquainted with the country, to assist him in his arduous duties, Washington asked Congress to assign General Arnold to that duty, if a question about rank, which that officer had raised, had been settled. Arnold immediately waived all questions of rank, and at once left Philadelphia for Schuyler's camp. At the same time, Washington addressed an earnest appeal to the brigadier-generals of militia in the western parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut, warning them of impending dangers to New England from a penetration of that country by the invaders, or their junction with Howe, by which communication between the Eastern and Southern States might be cut off, and asking them for immediate aid. "It cannot be supposed," he said, "that the small number of Continental troops assembled at Fort Edward is alone sufficient to check the progress of the enemy. To the militia, therefore, must we look for support in this time of trial; and I trust that you will, immediately upon the receipt of this, if you have not done it before, march, with at least one-third part of the militia under your command, and rendezvous at Saratoga, unless directed to some other place by General Schuyler and General Arnold, who, so well known to you all, goes up, at my request, to take command of the militia in particular. I have no doubt but you will, under his conduct and direction, repel an enemy from your borders who, not content with bringing mercenaries to lay waste your country, have now brought savages, with the avowed and express intent of adding murder to desolation.

"Washington also ordered General Lincoln, in Massachusetts, who had lately been ill, to set off immediately, and proceed, as quickly as his health would permit, to join the northern army under the command of General Schuyler. "My principal view in sending you there," he said, "is to take command of the Eastern militia, over whom, I am informed, you have great influence, and who place confidence in you. Yesterday I was in some doubt whether I should send you to the northward, but I have this day received two letters from General Schuyler, in such a style as convinces me that it is absolutely necessary to send a determined officer to his assistance.*

The fears of the people in his department, because of the gloomy aspect of affairs, gave Schuyler additional anxiety, labor and distress. With only a handful of men to confront the invaders from Canada, he was, nevertheless, importuned to send troops to other points then menaced. The inhabitants of Tryon county were specially importunate, through their committee, in view of a threatened invasion. To General Herkimer he wrote on the 10th of July, that he would send him aid as soon as possible.

"We must oppose the enemy," he said, "where they show themselves, that is, here, at present; and although Ticonderoga is abandoned, I am nevertheless not afraid that they will be able to get much lower into the country. Keep up the spirits of the people and all will be well."

* He refers to Schuyler's letters in which that officer had mentioned the uneasiness of the militia on account of its being harvest time, and the return to Massachusetts of the two regiments from that State, already mentioned. He informed Washington that one-half the militia remaining had agreed to stay three weeks longer, but he had not the least hope that he should be able to keep above a quarter of them, if so many. Toryism was very prevalent in the region where he then was, and to the eastward of it; and Colonel Warner, at Manchester, had not been able to recruit his broken force there, as there was a general reluctance to enlist.

To the Committee of Tryon County he wrote on the same day:

"I am sorry, very sorry, that you should be calling upon me for assistance of Continental troops, when I have already spared you all I could; when no army has yet made its appearance; when the militia of every County in the State, except yours, is altogether called out. For God's sake do not forget that you are an overmatch for any force the enemy can bring against you, if you will act with spirit. I have a large army to oppose and trust I shall do it effectually, and prevent their penetrating to any distance into the country.

"Keep up your spirits; show no signs of fear; act with vigor, and you will not only serve your country but gain immortal honor."

CHAPTER XII.

It was late in July when Burgoyne again moved southward. Carleton, pleading his instructions to remain in Canada, refused to comply with Burgoyne's request for him to hold Ticonderoga with a part of the troops left with him in the province, and the latter was compelled to furnish a garrison from his own army. His supplies of provisions came in slowly; his wagons, made of green wood, were not very serviceable, and not more than one-third of the horses he had contracted for in Canada were brought to him in good condition. His savages plagued him not a little. In a letter to Lord George Germaine, he wrote: "Were the Indians left to themselves, enormities too horrid to think of would ensue; guilty and innocent, women and infants, would be a common prey." Yet he kept them as a terror to the Americans, but they knew them too well to be much afraid of them; and he promised to send them toward "Connecticut and Boston," after his arrival at Albany.

After debating for nearly a fortnight, what he should do next, Burgoyne moved directly upon Fort Edward from Skenesborough, by the way of Fort Anne, through a thickly wooded country furrowed by many a running stream and made difficult even for light travellers, on account of numerous morasses. The journey was made tenfold more difficult by Schuyler, who had caused trees to be cut down and cast into the navigable waters of Wood Creek; the

roads between Fort Anne and Fort Edward, as we have observed, to be broken up; the cattle to be driven beyond the reach of the invaders, and all the forage to be destroyed. In proper time he drew the garrison from Fort George, who left it in flames,* and counted upon them as valuable accessories to his force.

* Washington's ears were now continually assailed by cavillings concerning the mismanagement of affairs in the Northern Department, and every art was tried to weaken if not destroy his faith in General Schuyler. Gates had lately been ordered by Congress to leave Philadelphia, go to head-quarters, and follow the directions of Washington [Journals of Congress, iii. 224.]; and his voice was loudest and most authoritative on the subject. The Commander-in-chief was told, when Schuyler first mentioned the evacuation, that it would be a great blunder; that it was "extremely defensible," and very important; that a spirited and judicious officer with two or three hundred good men, together with the armed vessels on Lake George, would retard Burgoyne's passage up that lake for a considerable time, if not render it impracticable, and oblige him to make a much more difficult and circuitous route. Washington listened to these suggestions, and mentioned them to Schuyler, saying: "I only mean to submit it to your consideration, hoping that whatever is best will be pursued, in this as in every other instance." To this Schuyler replied: "If these gentlemen ever were at Lake George, the most favorable supposition I can make of their extraordinary assertions is that they were blind, or that it is so long ago, that the size of the Fort, its situation, and every other circumstance is eradicated from their memories. The fort was part of an unfinished Bastion of an intended fortification. This Bastion was closed at the gorge. In it was a barrack capable of containing between thirty and fifty men; without ditch, without well, without cistern, without any picket to prevent the enemy running over the wall; so small as not to contain above one hundred and fifty men; commanded by ground greatly overlooking it, and within point-blank shot, and so situated that five hundred men may lie between the Bastion and the lake without being seen from this *extremely defensible* Fortress. Of the vessels built there, one was afloat and tolerably fitted, and the others still upon the stocks, but if the two had been upon the water they would have been of little use, without rigging or guns."

Schuyler desired Washington to send a copy of his observations on this point to Congress, but the chief said: "There will be no occasion. The gentlemen who mentioned the holding of the post, had taken up the idea that it was defensible with the assistance of the vessels on

"Strengthened by that garrison, who are in good health," he wrote to Washington, "and if the militia who are here, or an equal number, can be prevailed on to stay, and the enemy give me a few days more, which I think they will be obliged to do, I shall not be apprehensive that they will be able to force the posts I am about to occupy." But the militia could not be prevailed upon to stay. They were impatient of being kept there in the time of their harvest, and many left and went home.

Washington often gave Schuyler words of cheer, as well as of caution, at this critical juncture. He had the most unbounded confidence in Schuyler's judgment and patriotism. "I trust," he wrote to him on the 22d of July, "General Burgoyne's army will meet, sooner or later, an effectual check, and, as I suggested before, that the success he has will precipitate his ruin. From your accounts, he appears to be pursuing that line of conduct which, of all others, is most favorable to us; I mean acting in detachment. This conduct will certainly give room for enterprise on our part, and expose his parties to great hazard. Could we be so happy as to cut one of them off, supposing it should not exceed four, or five, or six hundred men, it would inspirit the people, and do away with much of their present anxiety. In such an event they would lose sight of present misfortunes, and, urged at the same time by a regard for their own security, they would fly to arms, and

the Lake, which were supposed to be better equipped; and what gave countenance to the idea was, that the bastion was erected under the direction of British engineers, and was intended as a part of a very large, strong and extensive work. I thought it expedient to submit the matter to your further consideration, wishing you at the same time to pursue such measures respecting it as your judgment should advise and direct."

afford every aid in their power." He urged the importance of bringing the people of the country exposed, to view things in their proper light, and to impress them with some of the fatal consequences that would result to themselves and families from their taking part against their country. He urged the necessity of counteracting Burgoyne's schemes for winning the people to the side of the crown by threats and promises, and to keep them steady in their attachment. "You have already given your attention to this matter," he said, "and I am persuaded you will omit nothing in your power to effect these great and essential points;" and he commended his measure of bringing away the cattle and stopping the roads. He closed by *warning* Schuyler against putting too much confidence in intrenchments he was then erecting at Moses' Creek. "I begin to consider lines," he said, "as a kind of trap, and as not answering the valuable purposes expected from them, unless they are in passes that cannot be avoided by an enemy."

Schuyler's friends now began to tell him what his personal enemies were doing. John Jay wrote to him from the Council of Safety, sitting at Kingston, on the 21st of July, repeating to him the injurious assertions and absurd rumors about his being privy to the evacuation of Ticonderoga, already alluded to. "In one of your letters to the Council," he said, "was this sentiment—'you wished the evacuation might not be too much depreciated,' and your reasons for this caution may have weight, but, sir, a certain gentleman at that board, whom I need not name, and from whom I do not desire this information should be concealed, is, in my opinion, your secret enemy. He professes much respect, etc., for you;

he cannot see through the business; he wishes you had been nearer to the fort, tho' he does not doubt your spirit. He thinks we ought to suspend our judgment, and not censure you rashly; he hopes you will be able to justify yourself, etc., etc. Observe so much caution, therefore, in your letters, as to let them contain nothing which your enemies may wrest to their own purposes." To these remarks, as to all others of a similar import, Schuyler expressed his thankfulness that such enemies could do him no real harm, for he had it in his power to fully vindicate his character.

In a letter written by Jay, from the same place, on the 26th of July, in reply to one from Schuyler, written on the 24th, in which he expressed his determination to call for a court of inquiry, that gentleman said:

"This attack on your reputation will, I hope, do you only a temporary injury. The honest, tho' credulous multitude, when undeceived, will regret their giving way to suspicions which have led them to do you injustice. I have no reason to suspect that the Council of Safety believe Ticonderoga was left by your direction or advice, or with your knowledge. They appear fully satisfied to the contrary."

He advised Schuyler to wait patiently the course of events.

"The evacuation of Ticonderoga," he said, "will naturally bring about an inquiry. The country will not be satisfied without it. You will then have a fair opportunity for vindicating your conduct."

William Duer, in a letter written from the hall of Congress, on the 29th of July, said:

"Your enemies in this quarter are leaving no means unessayed to blast your character, and to impute to your appointment in that department a loss which, when rightly investigated, can be imputed to very different causes. The friends of truth find it an extreme difficulty to stem the torrent of calumny.

"Be not surprised if you should be desired to attend Congress, to give an account of the loss of Ticonderoga. With respect to the result of an inquiry, I am under no apprehensions. Like gold tried in the fire, I trust that you, my dear friend, may be found more pure and

bright than ever. There is but one thing for you to do to establish your character on such a basis that even suspicion itself shall be silent, and, in doing this, you will, I am conscious, follow the impulse of your own heart. From the nature of your department, and other unavoidable causes, you have not, during the course of this war, had an opportunity of evincing that spirit which *I* and your more intimate friends know you to possess. Of this circumstance prejudice takes a cruel advantage, and malice lends an easy ear to her dictates. A hint on this subject is sufficient. You will not, I am sure, see this place till your conduct gives the lie to this insinuation, as it has done before to every other which your enemies have so industriously circulated."

Schuyler took no public notice of these assaults upon his character, but went forward cheeringly and untiringly in the performance of his duties, satisfied that at the proper time he could fully vindicate his conduct. St. Clair, with that truth and manliness which always characterized him, assumed the whole responsibility of the act of evacuating Ticonderoga, and the general officers who formed his council which decided to do so, insisted, in a letter to General Schuyler, on declaring that if the evacuation of that post was a reprehensible measure, they only were guilty.

This seemed to be a sufficient defence for General Schuyler against the chief accusations of his enemies, but it did not silence their slanders. "Since it has been discovered," he wrote to Washington, "that I gave no orders for evacuating Ticonderoga, and that I could not be attacked with success on that head, they propagate that I, at least, connived at it, with full as little truth as the other. I wish there was less calumniation, and more vigor. I wish the regiments to the northward had been complete, or, at least, something more so than they are. I wish one-third of them had not been little boys and negroes—perhaps the disasters we have experienced would not have happened, or, if happened, they would have been less fatal. I will, however, go on, smiling with contempt on

the malice of my enemies, doing my duty, and attempting to deserve your esteem, which will console me for the abuse that thousands may unjustly throw out against me."

But Schuyler soon began to feel the effects of the slanders of his enemies so industriously circulated, in the growing indifference of the people, and the independence, and even insubordination, of the Eastern militia. It was therefore a great relief to his mind when he received a letter from Washington, written at Ramapo, on the 24th of July, telling him that he had ordered General Lincoln to repair to his Department and take charge of that militia. It was New England men, in and out of Congress, who were most assiduous in striving to weaken his influence and compel him to leave the command of the Northern Department to another; and among all the leaders of public sentiment in that section during this fearful crisis, only that magnificent old patriot, Governor Jonathan Trumbull, seems to have stood by Schuyler, and believed in his ability and fidelity. The two patriots were constantly in friendly official communication; and while the Governor's son, the Commissary-general, was one of the foremost in the faction against Schuyler, the Governor himself was foremost among his friends.

Congress, at this juncture, appears to have paid very little attention to the repeated and urgent appeals from Schuyler for reinforcements. During the whole of that eventful month of July their journals afford no evidence that anything was attempted for the benefit of the Northern Department, excepting the passage of a resolution on the 7th (before they had heard of the evacuation of Ticonderoga), by which the president was directed to write to the Council of Safety of New York, informing them of

the distress which the troops were in at Ticonderoga for want of blankets, and requesting them to send to that garrison one thousand five hundred, at the expense of Congress; and the assurance of President Hancock, given in a letter to Schuyler, on the 14th, that Congress had strongly recommended to the State of New York and to the Eastern States to send such reinforcements of militia to his assistance, and to the assistance of General Washington, as might from time to time be requested. But the reinforcements did not come, and many of the militia already in camp were so discontented and almost mutinous, that he felt compelled to allow about one-half of them to return home, that he might keep the remainder for a short time. This condition of things was most discouraging, yet Schuyler kept a cheerful and hopeful heart, and sent out words of encouragement everywhere, excepting to the Commander-in-chief and the Council of Safety of the State of New York, who were entitled to a knowledge of the actual state of affairs at that juncture. To them he unburdened himself freely; and to that Council of Safety he laid bare the true condition of his situation, in the following letter, written on the 24th of July:

"It is with great pain that I am under the disagreeable necessity of advising you that our affairs in this quarter daily put on a more gloomy aspect. It was evident that if we had not consented to suffer part of the militia to return to their habitations, in all probability we should have lost the whole It was therefore resolved in full council of general officers that half should be permitted to leave us, provided the others would remain three weeks. These conditions were accepted by them, and one thousand and forty-six, officers included, of the militia of this State remained; but not above three hundred out of twelve of those from the County of Berkshire, in the State of Massachusetts, and out of about five hundred from the County of Hampshire, in the same State, only twenty-nine commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and thirty-four privates are left, the remainder having infamously deserted, and out of one hundred from Connecticut,

who had, like those from Hampshire, just arrived here, very few, if any, remain, and part of that half which remained from this State, so that we have not now above thirteen hundred militia on the ground. I wish we had the most distant prospect to detain one-half of these above five or six days. Our Continental force is between twenty-seven and twenty-eight hundred. With this small body we have to encounter a much more numerous body of enemy, well appointed, flushed with success and daily increasing by the acquisition of Tories. Happy I should still be, in some degree, if I could close the melancholy tale here; but every letter I receive from the County of Tryon advises me that the inhabitants of it will lay down their arms unless I support them with Continental troops. From what I have said, you will see the impossibility of my complying with their request. The district of Schoharie has also pointedly intimated that unless Continental troops are sent them, they will also submit to the enemy. Should it be asked what line of conduct I mean to hold amidst this variety of difficulties and distress, I would answer, to dispute every inch of ground with General Burgoyne, and retard his descent into the country as long as possible, without the least hopes of being able to prevent it, ultimately, unless I am reinforced from General Washington, or by a respectable body of militia. The former, I am advised, I am not to have, and where to procure the latter I know not. I have written to the Eastern States but do not expect timely succors from thence. I must therefore look up to you, but tho' I am under the fullest conviction that you will readily afford me every aid in your power, yet, I fear, it cannot be much. In this situation, you will please permit me to observe, that I think the Council of Safety ought to press General Washington for an immediate reinforcement of, at least, fifteen hundred good Continental troops. Those from our own State, if possible. If not, from any of the Southern Colonies. One thousand to reinforce me and the remainder to be sent into Tryon County. That the most immediate and pressing application should be made by you to the Eastern States (Connecticut in particular, from which we have not had above one hundred) for a respectable body of militia. That part of what militia may come from thence be also sent into Tryon County and part here. That the greatest number possible of the militia of this State should be sent both ways, and that it should be in the strongest terms recommended to the gentlemen of easy fortune to turn out. It is not only mortifying but extremely discouraging to the poorer class, and prejudicial to the public, to see so few men of note step forth, when their country is in danger.

"I may seem to labor under ideal apprehensions. I believe they are not so; they are founded on a reflection that if General Burgoyne can penetrate to Albany, the force which is certainly coming by the way of Oswego will find no difficulty in reaching the Mohawk river;

that being arrived there they will be joined, not by Tories only, but by every person that finds himself incapable of removing and wishes to make his peace with the enemy, and the whole body of the Six Nations. These forming a junction with Burgoyne at Albany, whilst General Howe presses up the river, it will either put General Washington between two fires or drive him into the necessity of filing off into New England. These, sir, are my conjectures. I sincerely wish they may never be realized, altho' I cannot think they are ill founded. I have thus ventured freely to give my sentiments. I hope they will not be thought to arise from a principle which would disgrace a soldier. I assure you they do not, and I hope my countrymen will never have occasion to blush for me, whatever may be the event of the campaign."

In this situation he appealed again to Washington for reinforcements from below. After telling him, in substance, what he had told the Committee of Safety of the State of New York, he said: "As the Continental troops are so few in this quarter, I leave your Excellency to reflect on what will be the consequence if a superior body of troops, well disciplined, flushed with victory, daily augmenting with Tories, with plenty of military stores, attacks the few naked, dispirited, ill-provided troops under my command, without cannon, for if even ten pieces of artillery should arrive in time, they will be of very little use to us without artillerists. The enemy will be with us in a few days."

On receiving this letter, Washington wrote to Schuyler, expressing his surprise that so few militia had joined him, and his regret that he had been compelled to dismiss any of them already there. "I hope, however," he said, "that your situation will soon be far more respectable; as I cannot but think the Eastern States, which are so intimately concerned in the matter, will exert themselves to throw in effectual succors to enable you to check the progress of the enemy, and repel a danger with which they are so immediately threatened."

In the same letter, he informed him that he had ordered General Lincoln to repair to his department immediately. He spoke of him in high terms, and as one so popular in Massachusetts that his influence over the militia from the East would be very advantageous.

This letter was followed by an order to General Glover to go up to Peekskill with his brigade, to the aid of Schuyler. That order was scarcely given when the riddle of Howe's movements was partially solved by an intercepted letter, written by him to General Burgoyne, which was sent to Washington by General Putnam. It was dated the 20th of July, and told Burgoyne that Boston, instead of up the North River, was his destination, and that he was making feigned demonstrations to the southward. It was so evident that the letter was intended to be intercepted, as it was sent out of New York in the care of a young American prisoner, who, he said, had been offered a heavy reward for carrying it to Burgoyne, that Washington at once interpreted it as an evidence that Howe's "demonstrations southward" were real, and that he intended to attack Philadelphia.

This interpretation was correct, for a few days later Washington wrote to Governor Trumbull, who had urged him to send reinforcements to Schuyler, from Peekskill: "No more can be detached from thence to the northern army, than have already gone. Two brigades, Nixon's and Glover's, have been ordered from thence to their aid. Not a man more can go, as all the Continental troops at that post, excepting two thousand, are called to join this army, for I am to inform you that General Howe's object and operations no longer remain a secret. At half after nine o'clock this morning I received an express from Con-

gress, advising that the enemy's fleet, consisting of two hundred and twenty-eight sail, were at the Capes of the Delaware yesterday in the forenoon. This being the case, there can be no doubt but he will make a vigorous push to possess Philadelphia, and we should collect all the forces we can to oppose him."

CHAPTER XIII.

So it was that General Schuyler was left to rely upon his own resources. Arnold had now joined him and was put in command of one portion of the little army with his head-quarters at Fort Edward, while Schuyler, posted at Moses' Creek, a few miles below, was preparing to resist the advance of Burgoyne, then moving. He kept out vigilant scouts in every direction, from Saratoga Lake far towards Bennington. Colonel Warner was kept on the rear and flank of the invaders, within the domain of the New Hampshire grants, or Vermont, with a slowly accumulating force, which now amounted to about eight hundred men, and General Glover was pressing forward from Albany, with his thin brigade. On the 26th of July Burgoyne made a general forward movement from Skenesborough. He had been considerably reinforced during his stay of three weeks there by many royalists or Tories who had joined his standard, among the most influential of whom was Major Skene, in whose honor that place had been named. Two vessels were sent up Wood Creek to Fort Anne with baggage, and a large detachment pushed on to the same point on that and the following day, while General Riedesel, with a large corps of his Germans, was detached to the left of that line of march to prevent troops from the New Hampshire grants following upon the flank of the British; and, to keep the Tories in that region, in countenance, General Phillips, at the same time, passed

over Lake George with a considerable force, took possession of what was left of Fort George, without opposition, for it had been abandoned and burnt, and began the construction of a military road from that point toward Fort Edward, a distance of about sixteen miles. The same sort of work was begun at Fort Anne, to enable the invaders to move upon Fort Edward, but they found Wood Creek so obstructed, the bridges over the stream so broken up, and the roads so barricaded with trees, that their progress was exceedingly slow. The impetuous Fraser took the lead, and appeared before Fort Edward on the 27th, where Burgoyne established his head-quarters on the 31st. On the following day Riedesel celebrated the birthday of his Brunswick sovereign, with as much display as possible, at Fort Anne.

In the meantime General Schuyler had been maintaining his position at Moses' Creek and Fort Edward, with pertinacity, but with the greatest difficulty. The latter post was only a ruin of what was never a very tenable fortification. "I find by letters from below," Schuyler wrote to Washington on the 26th, "that an idea prevails that Fort Edward is a strong and regular fortification. It was once a regular fortification, but there is nothing but the ruins of it left, and they are so utterly defenceless that I have frequently galloped my horse in on one side and out at the other. But when it was in the best condition possible, with the best troops to garrison it, and provided with every necessary, it would not have stood two days siege after proper batteries had been opened. It is situated in a bottom on the banks of the river, and surrounded with hills from which the parade may be seen within point-blank shot. I doubt not that it will be said that Fort

Miller, Fort Saratoga, and Stillwater, are considerable fortifications, of neither of which is there a *trace left*, although they still retain their names."

It was because of this untenable state and position of Fort Edward that Schuyler withdrew the main body of his army to Moses' Creek, four miles below, at about the time when Burgoyne advanced from Skenesborough; and it was the utter ignorance that prevailed concerning the fortifications of the old French and Indian War, which Schuyler's enemies took advantage of when condemning him for abandoning Fort Edward and retreating down the Hudson, as he did a few days after this letter was written. He had no other alternative if he would save his little army and more effectually retard the advance of Burgoyne. His militia were in an almost continual panic-fear, owing to the known presence of large parties of Indians, who were now and then seen prowling near the camps, and they were continually leaving for their homes. On the 29th of July, when Burgoyne's forces were gathering near Fort Edward, such a panic seized about three hundred of the militia of the extreme front in consequence of a few shots from a small party of Indians—not more than fifty in number—that they fell back pell-mell toward the main army yet at Moses' Creek, breaking through the thin brigade of General de Fermoy and a body of militia, and throwing the whole into disorder. This fear had doubtless been produced by an occurrence at Fort Edward only three days before, when a body of Indians and regular troops suddenly attacked a picket-guard at that post, under Lieutenant Van Vechten, killed and scalped the young commander and others, and took four prisoners. "They also scalped a woman and carried off another," Schuyler

wrote to Washington on the 27th of July. The "woman" who was "scalped," was the beautiful young girl, Jane McCrea, whose tragical end has been the theme of history, romance, art and song, for almost a hundred years. The sad story has been variously told. I had it more than twenty years ago from the lips of a granddaughter of Mrs. McNeil, at whose house Miss McCrea was staying at the time, and it was in this wise: Jane McCrea was the daughter of a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman of Jersey city, then known as Paulus' Hook. Mrs. McNeil was an intimate acquaintance of Miss McCrea's father, and when he died the latter went to live with her brother at Fort Edward, where Mrs. McNeil then also resided. Near her brother lived a family named Jones, and Miss McCrea and young David Jones became attached to each other, and were betrothed. The Joneses took the royal side when the war broke out, and, in the autumn of 1776, David Jones and his brother Jonathan raised a company of men under pretence of going to swell the garrison at Ticonderoga, but continued on down the lake when they went in that direction, and proceeded to Crown Point, where they joined the British army. When Burgoyne prepared his army for invasion, the Joneses, Jonathan as a captain and David as a lieutenant, were assigned to duty in the corps of General Fraser, and when the army approached Fort Edward they were with him. Mrs. McNeil was a cousin of General Fraser, and a staunch loyalist. Miss McCrea's brother was as staunch a whig, and when the British approached he left Fort Edward and went to Schuyler's army at Moses' Creek. His sister lingered with Mrs. McNeil, with a faint hope that she might see her lover. Her brother sent repeated requests for her to join him,

and on the 25th of July he gave her a peremptory order to that effect. She promised to go down the river in a large batteau which was expected to leave the next day.

Early the next morning a black servant-boy, belonging to Mrs. McNeil, saw some Indians creeping toward the house. He gave the alarm, and fled to the fort. Mrs. McNeil's daughter, the young friend of Miss McCrea, and mother of my informant, was then in Argyle, many miles from Fort Edward, and the family consisted of only the widow and her young guest, two small children, and a black feminine servant. The kitchen stood a few feet from the house. When the alarm was given, the black servant snatched up the children, fled to it, and, through a trap-door, retreated to its cellar. The widow and her guest followed. The former was corpulent; the latter, who was small and agile, reached the trap-door first. Before Mrs. McNeil could descend, the Indians had entered the kitchen, and a powerful savage, seizing her by the hair, dragged her up. Another went into the cellar, and brought out Miss McCrea, but did not discover the black face of the servant, and so she and the children remained unharmed.

With the two women, the Indians started off on the road toward Sandy Hill, where Fraser was encamped, and upon the slope of a hill a short distance on the way, where the road forked, they caught two horses, and attempted to place the two prisoners upon them. They could not lift the heavy Mrs. McNeil, and as she signified by signs that she could not ride, two stout Indians took her by the arms and hurried up the road, over the hill, while others placed Miss McCrea upon one of the horses, and hurried forward by another road.

Meanwhile, the negro boy had given the alarm at the fort, where some of the picket-guard were stationed, and they immediately started in pursuit, to effect a rescue. They fired several volleys at the Indians, but the savages escaped unharmed. The latter, Mrs. McNeil said, seemed to watch the flash of the guns, and several times threw her upon her face, at the same time falling down themselves. When out of reach of the musket-shot, over the hill, they stripped her of all her clothing but her chemise, and, in that plight, carried her to Fraser's head-quarters. There she met and reproached her kinsman for sending his "scoundrel Indians" after her; but he denied all knowledge of her having left New York, and as no woman in camp had a gown large enough for the plundered prisoner, he lent her his camp coat for a garment, and a pocket-handkerchief for her stolen cap.

Two parties of Indians very soon afterward appeared with scalps, when Mrs. McNeil at once recognized among them the long, glossy locks of her young friend, Miss McCrea. Shuddering with horror, she boldly charged them, through an interpreter, with murder, which they stoutly denied. They declared that while they were hurrying her up the hill, on horseback, a bullet from one of the American guns, intended for them, mortally wounded the poor girl, and she fell dead from the horse. Sure of losing a prisoner for which Burgoyne had offered a reward, they took her scalp, as the next best thing they could do, and that they bore to camp in triumph, to obtain the promised reward for such trophies, according to the terms laid down to them at the feast on the Bouquet.*

Mrs. McNeil believed their story, for she had heard

* See page 198.

not only the firing of the guns but the whistle of bullets over her own head. And the fact that the savages were far more solicitous, on account of the gain, to bring in a prisoner, than a scalp, gave plausibility to their story. They had so taken the heavy Mrs. McNeil, with great fatigue and difficulty, while the lighter Miss McCrea might have been carried with ease.

But the wildest stories soon got abroad. It was known in camp that Lieutenant Jones was Miss McCrea's lover, and it was told, with all the gloss of romance, how he had sent the Indians to bring her to him; how they quarrelled about the division of the reward he had offered them for the service, and how they had, in the intense heat of that quarrel, killed her to settle the dispute. As the story went from lip to lip it continued to increase in romantic and horrid interest, and produced a deep and wide-spread indignation, which was intensified by a published letter of General Gates, in September, written in vivid colors to Burgoyne, in which the American commander charged him with allowing his Indians to butcher with impunity defenceless women and children. "Upwards of one hundred men, women and children," Gates said, "have perished by the hands of the ruffians to whom, it is asserted, you have paid the price of blood."

This terrible charge Burgoyne flatly denied, and probably with truth, for he was a humane man and was really opposed to the employment of the savages. He had issued an order at once, after the sad occurrence, making it a rule thereafter that no party of Indians should be permitted to go on a forage, unless under the conduct of a British officer, or some other person competent to restrain them and to be responsible for their behavior. Gates' letter

was written and published for effect, and wonderful was its power upon the minds of the people, already excited by the horrid tale. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, burning with indignation, flocked to the American standard to oppose Burgoyne, who, perhaps, would have remained quietly at home; and strength was given to many a soldier's arm, and keenness to his blade, in the hour of battle, by the stinging thought of this cruelty.

A sequel to the sad story, as told by my informant, may here be given. Lieutenant Jones was chilled with horror by the awful event. With broken spirit he offered his resignation, but it was not accepted. He bought the scalp of his betrothed, and with the precious memento he and his brother deserted before the army reached Saratoga, and went back to Canada, where he lived to a great age, according to an account given me by a relative of his by marriage, at Glen's Falls. He never recovered from the shock. He had been gay and garrulous: after that he was melancholy and taciturn. He avoided society, and toward the close of every July, when the anniversary of the death of his beloved approached, he would shut himself up in his room, and refuse to see any one.*

* The steady approach of Burgoyne, and the story of the murder of Jane McCrea, spread universal alarm over the country below, and the families of the patriots fled toward Albany for protection. Among those who were thus driven from their homes, was Mrs. Ann Eliza Bleecker, a daughter of Brant Schuyler of the city of New York, who, with her husband, was living among the romantic hills about twenty miles from Albany. She was a poetess of considerable eminence, and a love of nature had drawn her into the then wilderness. She was suddenly startled by a wild cry that the savages were near. Her husband had gone to Albany to provide a residence for his family. She seized her two children and fled with others on foot, carrying one of her little ones in her arms. After a while she obtained a seat in a wagon with other fugitives. She met her husband the next morning,

General Schuyler finding his position at Moses' Creek entirely untenable with his dwindling army, he called a council of his general officers, and following their unanimous advice, he moved his army first to Fort Miller, a few miles down the Hudson, and then to Saratoga, where the whole force arrived on the 31st of July, leaving Burgoyne in possession of the whole country above. General Lincoln had arrived at Schuyler's head-quarters two days before, and on the morning of the retreat departed for Manchester, in Vermont, to take command of the troops gathered there under Colonel Warner, and others that might arrive. He found that Warner's force had dwindled to about five hundred, the militia having deserted; but now, the people being inspirited by the presence of Lincoln, recruits began to come in, and on the 4th of August that officer wrote to Schuyler that he expected, in a few days, to be at the head of at least two thousand men, with whom, according to the plan of Washington and Schuyler, he was to hang upon the flank and rear of the invading army, and to strike them when it might seem to be expedient. Schuyler was not satisfied with his position at Saratoga. "I have been on horseback all day," he wrote to the Council of Safety of the State of New York, on the first of August, "reconnoitring the country for a

who took her to Albany and thence down the Hudson, one of her children dying on the way.

At the same time Mrs. Schuyler went up to Saratoga to superintend the removal of furniture from the country seat at Saratoga. Her carriage was attended by only a single armed man on horseback. She encountered a crowd of the flying people, who urged her to turn back. She refused, and passing on through a dense forest for two miles, she came out into the clearings at Saratoga, and accomplished her errand. When urged to turn back, she said: "The General's wife must not be afraid."

place to encamp on, that will give us a chance of stopping the enemy's career. I have not yet been able to find a spot that has the least prospect of answering the purpose, and I believe you will soon learn that we are retired still farther south." Four days later he wrote to Washington from Stillwater, within about thirty miles of Albany:

"By the unanimous advice of all the general officers, I have moved the army to this place. Here we propose to fortify a camp, in expectation that reinforcements will enable us to keep the ground and prevent the enemy from penetrating further into the country; but if it should be asked from whence I expect reinforcement, I should be at a loss for an answer, not having heard a word from the Massachusetts on my repeated application, nor am I certain that Connecticut will afford us any succor. Our Continental force is daily decreasing by desertion, sickness, and loss in skirmishes with the enemy, and not a man of the militia now with me will remain above one week longer, and while our force is diminishing that of the enemy augments by a constant acquisition of Tories; but if, by any means, we could be put in a situation of attacking the enemy and giving them a repulse, their retreat would be so extremely difficult that, in all probability, they would lose the greater part of their army."

On the same day he addressed General George Clinton as governor of the State, setting forth the weak condition of his force, and concluding with these cordial words: "I sincerely congratulate you on the honor your countrymen have conferred on you, and assure you that I shall embrace every opportunity to make you sit as easy in the chair of government as the times will admit. Your virtue, the love of my country, and that friendship which I have always, and with great truth professed, are all so many inducements to it." And on the same day he wrote to the Council of Safety of the State of New York, asking their attention to his open letter to Congress, which he sent to them, and said: "Perhaps if his Excellency, the Governor, was to put himself at the head of the militia they would turn out in great numbers, and afford us such a

reinforcement as would enable us to keep our ground; and if the Eastern States would also send succors we should then, in all probability, be able to ruin General Burgoyne's army, for if it meets with a repulse, it will be so extremely difficult for him to retreat, that I should hope a very considerable part of his army would be lost."

General Burgoyne was now at Fort Edward. He had reached the Hudson River, which flowed through the country he was to subdue, from the northern wilderness to the sea, and his troops were exultant, as that was the goal toward which they had been pressing. But *his* hopes of conquest were not as promising as they had been. He found himself entangled in a net of complicated difficulties. His means for the transport service were entirely inadequate to supply his wants, and he found that the army could barely be victualled from day to day, for Schuyler had so promptly and completely stripped the country around him of food and forage that supplies could not be obtained even from those who, through timidity or choice, might otherwise have helped him. He was therefore compelled to employ his army in bringing the stores and provisions which General Phillips had forwarded to Lake George, across the rough wooded country to Fort Edward, and also from Skenesborough to the same place. It was a work of immense labor, for neither oxen nor horses could be procured, and the whole country was inundated by almost incessant rains.

Burgoyne had also serious trouble with his new savage recruits at this time, who had lately come to him. His order recently issued in regard to the affair of Miss McCrea, for restraining them, was resented, and when, discovering their evident ill-humor, he called a council of the

chiefs, what was his astonishment to find that the tribe for whom St. Luc, his most trusted partisan, acted as interpreter, declared their intentions to return to Canada, and demanded his acquiescence and assistance. They had been promised the free exercise of their thirst for blood and plunder, and were disappointed. This declaration greatly embarrassed him, for this savage force, gathered by the express orders of the ministry at great expense, and calculated to give him much strength by the terror they would inspire, would be lost if he acquiesced in the demand, and there was no way to reconcile them except to revoke his orders and give free vent to their cruel passions. This he would not do, to his honor be it spoken; and while he refused to revoke his orders for restraining them, he appealed to their honor and plighted faith, and agreed to grant furloughs to parties to return home and gather in their harvests. They seemed to be touched by his speech and kindness, and all appeared agreeable when the sun went down, but the next day those savage allies whose chivalry he had extolled at the Bouquet, went away by scores, carrying with them as much of the plunder which they had collected in their forays as possible. This desertion continued until scarcely a savage who had joined the army at Skenesborough remained.

At this juncture Burgoyne received intelligence that the detachment under St. Leger, whom he had sent from Lachine to proceed to the Mohawk valley, by way of Oswego, had accomplished their march and were actually besieging Fort Stanwix. This made it imperative for him to make a rapid movement down the Hudson, so as to coöperate with St. Leger on his expected approach to Albany. But how could he move without transportation

and provisions? These must first be obtained, but where? This perplexing question seemed to be solved by Major Skene, then in Burgoyne's camp, who was well acquainted with the whole surrounding country, and who informed him that at Bennington, about twenty-four miles east of the Hudson, the Americans had gathered a large quantity of horses, carriages, and supplies of all kinds, for the use of the Northern Army, and advised an attempt to seize them. He believed this might be easily done by a surprise; and Burgoyne, deceived by the representations of Skene that the inhabitants were loyalists in the proportion of five to one, and would show themselves in the presence of protecting power, and also driven to extremities by his needs, immediately set an expedition on foot for that purpose. Both Phillips and Riedesel were opposed to the measure as extremely hazardous, but Burgoyne, trusting too largely to the supposed loyalist strength in that region, and impelled partly by his vain estimate of his own strength and the weakness of the Americans, partly by what seemed to him to be stern necessity, took the responsibility of detaching Lieutenant-Colonel Baume to Bennington, with five hundred Germans, Canadians, and Tories, and one hundred Indians, on the 9th of August. His instructions to Baume declared his object to be to try the affections of the country; to disconcert the councils of the enemy; to mount Riedesel's dragoons; to complete Peters' corps of Loyalists; and to obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, carriages and stores. He was directed to "scour the country from Rockingham to Otter Creek;" to go down the Connecticut River as far as Brattleborough, and return by the great road to Albany, there to meet General Burgoyne, and to endeavor to make the country believe his

corps was the advanced body of the general's army which was to cross the country and proceed to Boston. He was ordered to make prisoners of "all officers, civil and military, acting under the Congress," and to "tax the towns where they halted, with such articles as they wanted, and to take hostages for the performance, etc.; to bring all horses fit to mount the dragoons, or to serve as battalion horses for the troops, with as many saddles and bridles as could be found." Burgoyne stipulated the number of horses to be brought at one thousand three hundred, at least, and more if they could be obtained, and directed them to be "tied in strings of ten each, in order that one man might lead ten horses."

With these instructions to accomplish impossibilities with six hundred men, Baume left his encampment on the 13th of August, and the next day arrived at the mill on the Walloomscoick Creek, capturing on their way, near Cambridge, some men and horses, by means of some Tories and Indians, when the latter drove away the horses as their own prizes. From the prisoners he obtained not very encouraging information. They said there were one thousand three hundred Americans at Bennington, but they thought they would retire on the approach of Baume.*

So far Baume had found no impediments to his progress. Now they grew thick and fast around him. The presence of Burgoyne at Skenesborough, and the expectation that he might attempt to penetrate New Hampshire and Massachusetts, whose whole frontiers were uncovered, with Boston as his point of destination, had filled the inhabitants of that region with alarm. The Committee of

* Baume's Letter to Burgoyne, 14th August, 1777.

Safety of Vermont (New Hampshire Grants) apprised the New Hampshire Committee of the impending and pressing danger, and implored their assistance. The Provincial Assembly of the latter State had gone home, but a summons from the Committee brought them all back in the course of three days. Deep despondency rested upon those representatives of the people until the patriotic John Langdon, then speaker of the Assembly, whose zeal was always glowing, said in tones that carried conviction of his sincerity to every mind: "I have $3,000 in hard money. I will pledge my plate for $3,000 more. I have seventy hogsheads of Tobaga rum, which shall be sold for the most it will bring. These are at the service of the State. If we succeed in defending our firesides and homes, I may be remunerated; if we do not, the property will be of no value to me. Our old friend Stark, who so nobly sustained the honor of our State at Bunker Hill, may be safely entrusted with the conduct of the enterprise, and we will check the progress of Burgoyne."

The fire of Langdon's spirit was communicated to the Assembly. They planned and put into operation the most energetic measures. The militia of the State were formed into two brigades, and placed under the command of William Whipple (one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence) and John Stark. One-fourth of Stark's brigade and one-fourth of the regiments of Whipple were placed under the command of the former and ordered to march immediately to the western frontiers of the State, with power to disarm all Tories found in their way. This done, a day of fasting and prayer was ordered and observed, for these were men who were in the habit of following the spirit of Cromwell's injunction, "Trust in Providence, but keep your powder dry."

At that time the veteran soldier, John Stark, was a private citizen. He was then about fifty years of age; had been one of Rogers' Rangers in the French and Indian wars, and was raised to Captain in 1756; fought bravely as a colonel of a regiment on Bunker's Hill, in June, 1775; went into Canada under Sullivan in 1776, and left that army at Ticonderoga when his commander did.* He joined the army, with him, under Washington, and commanded the van of the right wing in the attack on Trenton, late in the year; and he was with Washington when he went into winter-quarters at Morristown soon afterward. Then he returned to New Hampshire on recruiting service, where, having filled his regiment, he learned that several junior officers had been promoted by Congress, while he was left out. Indignant and aggrieved, he resigned his commission in the Continental Army, but accepted that of brigadier from the authorities of his adopted State, resolved, like General Schuyler, to serve his country faithfully whatever might be his private griefs. He was active while divested of all military authority; now he took the field with the understanding that he was not to be attached to the Continental army, but be amenable only to the authorities of New Hampshire.

Stark was a great favorite with the militia of his State, and when it was known that he was to be their leader, they cheerfully flocked to his standard, which was raised first at Charlestown, and then at Manchester, twenty miles north of Bennington, where Colonel Warner was posted, as we have observed, with the remnant of his regiment of Green Mountain Boys. There Stark met Lincoln, whom Schuyler, as we have seen, sent thither to take the chief

* See page 92.

command, and who ordered him to prepare to march to join the Northern Army on the Hudson. Stark positively refused to go, and showed Lincoln the written terms upon which he had assumed the command of the brigade, or even consented to appear in the field at all. Lincoln immediately wrote to General Schuyler on the subject, on the 8th of August:

"Yesterday, General Stark, from New Hampshire, came into camp at Manchester. By his instructions from that State it is at his option to act in conjunction with the Continental Army or not. He seems to be exceedingly soured, and thinks he hath been neglected, and hath not had justice done him by Congress. He is determined not to join the Continental Army until the Congress give him his rank therein. His claim is to command all the officers whom he commanded the last year, as also all those who joined the army after him. Whether he will march his troops to Stillwater, or not, I am quite at a loss to know. But if he doth, it is a fixed point with him to act there as a separate corps, and take no orders from any officer in the Northern Department, saving your honor, for he saith they all were *either commanded by him the last year or joined the army after him.* It is very unhappy that this matter by him is carried to so great a length, especially at a time when every exertion for our common safety is so absolutely necessary. I have good reason to believe, if the State of New Hampshire were informed of the matter, they would give new and very different instructions to General Stark."*

To this letter Schuyler replied the next day:

"Your favor of yesterday's date was delivered me last night.

"You will please to assure General Stark that I have acquainted Congress of his situation, and that I trust and entreat he will, on the present alarming crisis, waive his right, as the greater the sacrifice he makes to his feelings, the greater will be the honor due to him, for not having suffered any consideration to come in competition with the weal of his country, and I entreat him to march immediately to this army."†

Congress was not so wise or considerate as General Schuyler. That body, when Stark's refusal was communicated to it by General Lincoln on the 19th of August, resolved that the Assembly of New Hampshire should be

* Autograph Letter. † Schuyler's MS. Letter Book.

informed that the instructions which they had given to General Stark were "destructive of military subordination, and highly prejudicial to the common cause," and the Assembly was desired to "instruct General Stark to conform himself to the same rules which other general officers of the militia were subject to whenever they were called out at the expense of the United States."

This was sound military logic, but was not adapted to the particular exigencies of the occasion. Stark had already, while Lincoln's letter, forwarded by Schuyler, was on its way to Philadelphia, performed great services for his country in an independent command, and his apparent insubordination, which seemed so highly "prejudicial to the common cause," was productive of great benefit to his country. The resolution of Congress inflamed his wrath, while Schuyler's sympathizing and patriotic letter inspired him with fresh zeal and a determination to make any personal sacrifice for the good of that country. He well knew the value of Schuyler's services and the patriotic zeal which animated him, and he was ready to serve under him anywhere and obey his commands.

CHAPTER XIV.

Lieutenant-colonel Baume was too cautious to proceed, when, at the mill on the Walloomscoick, he was informed of a body of troops at Bennington, so he halted there and sent back to Burgoyne for reinforcements. Lieutenant-colonel Breyman was immediately sent with five hundred German troops to aid Baume. The force at Bennington was a part of the New Hampshire brigade, under General Stark, who had arrived at that place on the 9th, the date of Burgoyne's instructions to Baume. There, on the 13th, Stark heard of the attack of Indians upon the party of Americans at Cambridge, already mentioned, when he detached Lieutenant-colonel Gregg, with two hundred men, to oppose their march. Towards night word reached Stark that a large body of the foe, with a train of artillery, was in the rear of the Indians, and in full march for Bennington. He at once rallied his brigade, gathered all the militia at Bennington, and sent out an urgent call to his standard for all the militia in the vicinity. He also sent an order for the officer in command of Colonel Warner's force at Manchester, to march his men to Bennington immediately. That night was a rainy one, but Stark's command was instantly obeyed, and towards morning Warner's troops, thoroughly drenched, reached Bennington.

While these men were drying their clothes and preparing their arms for action, early on the morning of the

14th, Stark moved forward with his whole force to the support of Gregg, accompanied by Colonels Warner, Williams, and Brush. After marching about five miles they met Gregg retreating, and the enemy within a mile of him. Stark immediately disposed his force in battle array, when Baume and his men halted upon an eminence not far from the mill, and began to throw up intrenchments. Stark then fell back about a mile, showing his troops to the greatest advantage, there to wait for reinforcements and arrange a plan of battle. The morning of the 15th was again very rainy, but both parties worked vigorously in preparations for battle. The Germans and a corps of Rangers were intrenched upon a high hill at a bend of the Walloomscoick, and on its north side, and another party of rangers and German grenadiers were posted at a ford of that stream. At the foot of the declivity were some chasseurs; and about a mile distant from the main intrenchments on the height, on the south side of the stream, was posted Peters' Tories, or "American Volunteers," as they called themselves. On the same side of the stream, upon the Bennington road, Stark and the main body of his army were encamped. The Walloomscoick, usually fordable, was now swollen by the storm.

The rain fell copiously all day, and yet small parties of the Americans fell upon detachments of the enemy and so annoyed them that the Indians began to desert Baume, "because," as they said, "the woods were full of Yankees." The Germans continued their works upon the hill, and by dusk that night had mounted two pieces of cannon upon them.

A few hours later Colonel Symonds arrived at Stark's camp with a body of Berkshire militia, accompanied by an

ardent clergyman of Pittsfield, the Rev. Mr. Allen, who, toward the dawn, went to Stark and said: "The people of Berkshire have often been summoned to the field without being allowed to fight, and if you do not now give them a chance they have resolved never to turn out again." "Do you wish to march now, in the darkness and rain?" Stark asked. "No, not just this moment," replied the belligerent minister of peace. "Then," said Stark, "if the Lord shall once more give us sunshine, and I do not give you fighting enough, I'll never ask you to come out again." Sunshine came with the morrow, for at dawn the clouds broke and very soon all nature lay smiling in the sunbeams of a warm August morning. It was propitious for the zeal of the parson and his men, and they had "fighting enough" before the evening twilight.

Early that morning (August 16) both of the little armies prepared for action. Stark's plan of attack had been duly arranged, and after reconnoitring his foe at the distance of a mile, he proceeded to execute it. He sent Colonel Nichols with two hundred men up a little creek to attack the enemy's left and rear; and Colonel Herrick was detached with three hundred men to fall upon the rear of Baume's right, and form a junction with Nichols. Colonels Hubbard and Stickney were ordered to march down the Walloomscoick with two hundred men, to the right of the enemy, and with one hundred men in front, near the Tory camp, in order to divert Baume's attention from the other movements.

These orders were strictly obeyed. The battle commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon, by Colonel Nichols, on the enemy's left, who fell with great vigor upon the German intrenchments. At the same moment

Stark, who was with the main body of his troops, sprang into his saddle and shouted "Forward;" and the remainder of the little army moved to the attack. They pressed onward to the hill above Peters' encampment, where they had the whole field of action in view. It was general. The heights were wreathed in the smoke of cannon and small arms; and along the slopes and the little plain the enemy were moving rapidly to repel the assault. They were harassed on every side. The Americans drove the Tories, pell-mell, across the stream, and following after them brought the whole of both forces into action. "It lasted," said Stark in his official account, "two hours, and was the hottest I ever saw. It was like one continued clap of thunder."

The Tories were driven in confusion upon the Germans, who were forced from their breastworks on the height, while the cowardly Indians, alarmed at the aspect of affairs, fled at the very beginning of the fight through the gap between Nichols and Herrick, with horrid yells and the jingling of cow-bells which formed a part of their plunder. The weight of the conflict was then thrown chiefly upon the brave corps of Riedesel's dragoons, led by the gallant Baume in person. They kept an unbroken column until compelled, by the failure of their ammunition, to give way after they had made a furious sword-charge, leaving their artillery and baggage on the field. Against five hundred veterans, well armed and highly disciplined troops, the unskilled handful of Americans, with their brown firelocks, scarcely a bayonet, very little discipline, and not a single piece of cannon, fought with indomitable courage. They were fighting in defence of their homes, and with a prospect of promised plunder.

Their eagerness for securing the latter nearly proved fatal to them.

So soon as Baume was driven from the field, the Americans dispersed in the eager collection of plunder. Just then Colonel Breyman arrived with reinforcements for Baume. They had been kept back by the heavy rain the day before. They marched more lively when they heard the sounds of battle. Could they have arrived a little sooner, they might have turned the tide against the Americans. As it was, they rallied Baume's flying party, and the whole pushed back to the intrenchments on the height. Stark comprehended the danger and tried to rally his militia. They were too much scattered to be quickly arrayed in battle-order, and for a little while it was doubtful to which party the night would give the palm of victory. Happily for Stark, the corps of Warner, which had been left at Bennington, a few miles distant, in the morning, arrived at this juncture fresh and well armed, and fell vigorously upon the foe. Stark, with what men he could gather, pushed forward to the assistance of Warner. A running fight of considerable severity ensued, and was kept up until sunset with great obstinacy. The enemy made their last stand near the mill, and then fled in confusion toward the Hoosick, pursued by the Americans until dark, when Stark recalled his men. He had as trophies of his victory seven hundred prisoners, including Colonel Baume, who was wounded and died soon afterward; four brass cannons, two hundred and fifty dragoon swords, several hundred stand of arms, eight brass drums, and four ammunition-wagons. Two hundred and seven of the enemy were killed. The loss of the Americans was about one hundred killed and as many wounded. Stark

had a horse killed under him, but himself was not hurt. The total loss of the enemy, in killed, wounded and prisoners, was nine hundred and thirty-four, including one hundred and fifty-seven of Peters' Tories.

This conflict is known in history as the Battle of Bennington, though it was fought some miles from that village nestled among the hills of the Green Mountains, whose church spires may be seen from the height on which the Germans were intrenched. The victory was hailed with great joy throughout the country, not only as an omen of further disasters awaiting the invading army, but as an evidence of the conquering spirit of the militia when once aroused and led by a good commander. The Congress, which had lately commented severely upon Stark's insubordination, were compelled to listen to the voice of the people loudly chanting his praises everywhere, and on the 14th of October following, with tardy justice they resolved "That the thanks of Congress be presented to General Stark of the New Hampshire Militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon, and signal victory over, the enemy in their lines at Bennington; and that Brigadier Stark be appointed a brigadier-general in the armies of the United States."

While these important events were occurring eastward of Schuyler's camp at Stillwater, equally important events were happening westward of him. The long-expected invasion of the Mohawk Valley, by way of Oswego, had begun. Let us first take a brief view of immediately antecedent and connecting events on the remote borders of civilization in Central New York.

In the course of the Spring of 1777, Joseph Brant, an

educated Mohawk Chief, with whom General Schuyler was well acquainted, came from Canada and appeared among the Mohawks at Oghquaga, on the Susquehannah, below Unadilla, with a large body of warriors. His presence emboldened the Tories and gave uneasiness to the Whigs. In June of that year he ascended the Susquehannah to Unadilla, with about eighty warriors, and commenced depredations upon the inhabitants of that frontier settlement, who fled to Cherry Valley and other places as far away as the Hudson River.

When General Schuyler was apprised of this movement he directed Brigadier-General Herkimer to repair to Unadilla, with some of the Tryon County militia, to seek an interview with Brant and, if possible, ascertain his intentions. Herkimer took with him three hundred men, and at the same time Colonel Van Schaick marched with one hundred and fifty men to Cherry Valley, while Schuyler held himself in readiness to repair to Unadilla if his presence should be needed. These precautions were taken because they were ignorant of Brant's intentions. They were not aware that he had said to the Rev. Mr. Johnston at Unadilla: "I have made a covenant with the king, and am not inclined to break it."

Herkimer was compelled to wait a week at Unadilla before Brant appeared, in compliance with the General's invitation. They had long been neighbors and friends. Brant dispatched a runner to Herkimer to inquire the object of his visit, and then appeared at the head of five hundred warriors. The two parties were encamped within two miles of each other, and at the interview that followed, each left their arms in their respective encampments. They met in an open field; Brant with about

forty warriors. When pressed by Herkimer to truly reveal his intentions, Brant told him in few words that he and his men were loyal to the king whom they had always served; that Herkimer and his followers had joined the rebellious Bostonians, and that the king would humble them; that General Schuyler was very smart on the Indians at the treaty at the German Flatts a year before, but was not able to fulfil his agreement with them; and finally that the Indians had formally made war on the white people when they were all united, and, as they were now divided, the Indians were not frightened. He also told Herkimer that a war-path had been opened across the country to Esopus (Kingston near the Hudson) for the Tories of Ulster and Orange Counties to join them. The conference ended with an agreement to hold another the next morning.

Again they met; Brant, conscious of his superior strength, was haughty in his deportment, and said to Herkimer: "I have five hundred warriors with me, armed and ready for battle. You are in my power, but, as we have been friends and neighbors, I will not take advantage of you." At a signal his braves, painted in hideous colors as if prepared for battle, burst from the surrounding woods, gave the terrible war-whoop and discharged their rifles in the air. They injured no one. It was well for the chief that they did not, for Herkimer had chosen men ready to kill Brant and his higher officers should the least hostile demonstration be made. Brant advised Herkimer to go back, expressed a hope that he might one day return the compliment, turned on his heel and disappeared in the forest.

The conference satisfied Schuyler that the neutrality

of the Mohawks was at an end. A few days after the conference, Brant and his warriors joined the Johnsons and Colonel Butler at Oswego, where Guy Johnson and other British Indian Commissioners had secured a grand council of the Six Nations. They were flattered, cajoled, deceived; but the larger portion of the sachems adhered to the treaty made with General Schuyler at the German Flatts, until the appeals of the Commissioners to their avarice overcame their sense of honor. They told the savages that the armies of the king would soon subdue the rebels; that the friends of the king were as a thousand to one of the colonists; that the rum of the king should always be abundant among them, and that they should never want food or clothing, goods or money, so long as they should be allies of the king. Fancy articles, such as scarlet clothes, beads and trinkets, which appeal powerfully to the savage fancy, were then exhibited, and the Indians, bewildered and bewitched by these things, made a treaty of alliance with the British agents, and agreed to take up the hatchet against the colonists and never bury it until they were subdued. To each Indian was then given a brass kettle, suit of clothes, tomahawk, scalping-knife, gun, a piece of gold, ammunition, and a promise of a bounty for every scalp he should bring in. Thenceforth Brant was the acknowledged Grand Sachem of the Six Nations, and soon after spread terror over all the borders.*

Preparations were now made for attacking Fort Schuyler (late Fort Stanwix) on the site of the present village of Rome. Colonel Peter Gansevoort had been placed in command of that post in the spring of 1777, by General Schuyler, and was yet in charge of the garrison. He had

* See Stone's Life of Brant, i. 187, 188.

so early as June obtained information of an intended invasion, and early in July, a half-breed Oneida sachem, who had been sent to Canada to obtain information, reported that he was at a council whereat Colonel Daniel Claus, a brother-in-law of Sir John Johnson, presided, at which the plan of the campaign was revealed. He also reported that Johnson and Claus were then at Oswego, with their families, in command of seven hundred Indians and four hundred regular troops; that there were six hundred Tories at Oswegatchie (now Ogdensburg) ready to join them, and that Colonel John Butler was to arrive at Oswego on the 14th of July, from Niagara, with Tories and Indians.

This information seemed to paralyze with alarm the Whigs of the Mohawk Valley, and instead of putting forth energetic action for staying the threatened invasion, they folded their hands and, as we have seen, called piteously upon General Schuyler for aid at a time when he needed more troops than he had to roll back the tide of a more formidable invasion under Burgoyne. Fort Schuyler was yet unfinished, and feebly guarded, and it seemed as if the whole country must speedily become a prey to the enemy. But Gansevoort was brave, active and hopeful. He wrote spirited letters to General Schuyler, asking for aid, and the latter laid before the Convention of the State of New York, in most vivid colors, the true condition of Tryon County. The General Congress was also fully informed by Schuyler of the situation of that region, but no help could be given in time to meet the dreadful emergency.

On the first of August the motley invading force of British, Canadians, a few Germans, Tories, and Indians of

the Six Nations (excepting the Oneidas, who were faithful to their treaty obligations), the latter led by Brant, one thousand seven hundred strong, came over Oneida Lake and prepared to invest Fort Schuyler. The main body was led through the forest by the Indians following Brant, and the rear was composed of British regulars. The advanced-guard was composed of sixty sharpshooters, selected from the corps known as Johnson's Royal Greens, and led by Captain Watts, a brother-in-law of the Baronet. On the 2d of August, Brant and Lieutenant Bird began the investment of the fort, which was then garrisoned by only seven hundred and fifty men, under Gansevoort. In July, Colonel Marinus Willet, an active and judicious officer from the city of New York, had joined the garrison with his regiment, and on the very day when Bird commenced the investiture of the fort, Lieutenant-colonel Melton, of Colonel Wesson's regiment, had arrived with two hundred men and two batteaux laden with provisions and military stores. This was a most important reinforcement. The garrison now had a plentiful supply of provisions for six weeks, and an abundance of ammunition for small arms. But they had only about four hundred rounds of cannon ammunition. The garrison was also without a flag. This was made, after the pattern prescribed by Congress a few weeks before, of white shirts and bits of scarlet cloth cut into strips and joined, and the blue field for the stars made of an overcoat belonging to Captain Abraham Swartwout, of Duchess County. Before sunset of the day when the van of the invaders appeared, the strangely fabricated flag was floating over one of the bastions of the fort.

Colonel St. Leger appeared with his whole force in front of Fort Schuyler on the 3d of August. He imme-

diately sent a flag to the commander of the garrison with a copy of a pompous proclamation after the pattern of Burgoyne's, which he had distributed among the people, and in which he magnified the power, justice, and clemency of the king, and charged the various authorities among the patriots with cruelty in the form of "arbitrary imprisonment, confiscation of property, persecutions and torture unprecedented in the inquisition of the Romish church." He exhorted the people who were disposed to do right to remember that he was "at the head of troops in the full power of health, discipline and valor, determined to strike when necessary, and anxious to spare when possible;" and he tempted them with offers of employment if they would join his standard, security to the infirm and industrious, and payment in coin for all supplies for his army that might be brought into his camp. He said, in conclusion: "If, notwithstanding these endeavors and sincere intention to effect them, the frenzy of hostility shall remain, I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man, in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the State against the wilful outcasts. The messengers of justice and wrath await them in the field; and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror that a reluctant, but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return."

The patriot population of that region appear to have been imbued with new courage by the immediate presence of danger, and they treated this manifesto with derision, while the little garrison, who had already counted the cost of a siege, and determined upon a desperate defence of the fort, laughed at its threats and regarded its offers of bribes with scorn.

CHAPTER XV.

The siege of Fort Schuyler began on the 4th of August, when a few bombs were thrown into the little fortress, and the Indians, concealed behind trees and bushes, wounded several men engaged in heightening the parapets. These annoyances continued the next day, and toward evening the savages spread themselves in the woods around the post and by horrid yells tried to intimidate the garrison. St. Leger had learned the weakness of the post, and, confident of success, wrote to Burgoyne that day, assuring him that Fort Schuyler would soon be in his possession, and that he hoped to have the pleasure of meeting him soon, a victor, at Albany.

Meanwhile there were stirring and important movements a little further down the valley. When General Herkimer was informed of the passage of St. Leger and his army over Oneida Lake, he summoned the Tryon County militia to the field to give succor to Fort Schuyler. The wolf was at the door and must be repulsed. Courage took the place of fear, and the call of Herkimer was nobly responded to not only by the militia, but by most of the members of the Tryon County Committee, who entered the field as volunteers and officers. They rendezvoused at Fort Dayton, on the German Flatts, and on the day when the Indians encircled Fort Schuyler, they were at Oriskany, within cannon sound of that post, eight hundred strong, marching to the relief of the beleaguered garrison.

On the night of the 5th, Herkimer sent messengers to Colonel Gansevoort, by way of an unguarded swamp, to tell him of the approach of help, and requested him to telegraph back to him, by three rapid discharges of a cannon which might be heard at Oriskany, the fact of the arrival of the courier. He waited patiently but heard no signal. He intended, at the moment when he should hear it, to press forward and cut his way through the besiegers, and he desired Gansevoort to make a coöperating sortie from the fort at the same time.

The morning of the 6th dawned, and yet no signal was heard. Herkimer's officers, pressed by the impatience of their men, urged him to move forward. The old man (he was then sixty-five) was brave but cautious, self-relying and firm. He determined to halt till he should hear the signal at the fort. Impertinent officers talked harshly to him, and denounced the old patriot as a coward and a Tory. The taunt stirred the very depths of his soul, but duty to others governed his feelings, and he calmly replied: "I am placed over you as a father and guardian, and shall not lead you into difficulties from which I may not be able to release you." Their ungenerous taunts were increased until, at length, stung by the repeated charge of cowardice which came from the impatient young men, he yielded and gave the word "March on;" at the same time telling those who boasted loudest of their courage that they would be the first to run on the appearance of the enemy.

Herkimer's messenger did not reach the fort until between ten and eleven o'clock the next day. Gansevoort had observed the silence of the enemy, and also the movement of some of the beleaguering troops along the margin of the wood, down the river. The arrival of the messen-

ger explained the mystery, and assured him that they had gone to meet Herkimer. It was so. St. Leger had heard of his advance and had detached a division of Johnson's Greens under Major Watts, Colonel Butler with his Rangers, and Brant with a strong body of Indians, to intercept him.

So soon as the messenger arrived at the post, two hundred and fifty men, consisting of a portion of Gansevoort's and Wesson's regiments, with an iron three-pounder, were ordered out under Colonel Marinus Willet, to coöperate with Herkimer. That New York Colonel was a man of daring and at the same time he was a man of good judgment. Rain had fallen copiously during the forenoon. The moment it ceased he sallied forth, and fell furiously upon the camp of Johnson's Greens, a portion of whom had gone to intercept Herkimer. The assault was so sudden, unexpected, and sharp, that the advanced guard were driven in and the Baronet was not allowed time to put on his coat to join in the flight of his men across the river to St. Leger's temporary camp. The frightened Indians as suddenly disappeared and buried themselves in the deep forest near. Twenty-one wagon loads of spoil—clothing, blankets, stores and camp equipage, five British standards, the baggage of Sir John, with all his papers and those of other officers, containing every kind of information necessary for the garrison to know—were captured and carried into the fort by Willet and his party without the loss of a man. The five British colors were immediately raised in full view of the enemy, upon the flag-staff of the fort under the uncouth American banner made of shirts and coats. For this exploit Congress voted Colonel Willet an elegant sword in the name of the United States.

In the meantime the detachment sent down the river by St. Leger concealed themselves in ambush in a deep ravine that crossed the path of Herkimer. That general was entirely ignorant of what was going on above, and at the words "March on!" his little army, composed of the militia regiments of Cox, Paris (a member of the Tryon County Committee), Visscher and Klock, was moving toward the fort in a not very orderly manner on account of the demoralization of the whole corps by the unseemly contentions of the subordinate officers with their commander. These contentions had delayed their march until nine o'clock.

About two miles west of the mill Herkimer's troops came to a marshy ravine where their path lay across a causeway of earth and logs. On each side of this the ground was level, and thickly covered with timber and underwood. Upon high ground on the west side of this ravine lay concealed the Tories and Indians in such a way that they almost surrounded the troops of Herkimer while crossing the causeway. Brant gave a signal, and in a moment the unsuspecting militia were furiously assailed at all points by spear and hatchet, and deadly rifle balls which fell upon them like awful hail from the clouds above, accompanied by the horrid war-whoop of the savages. The rear-guard, which had been loudest in denouncing Herkimer because he would not move forward, in fulfilment of the general's prediction, broke and fled the very moment they heard the yell of the Indians, and left their companions in the ravine to their fate.

Confusion disordered the ranks of the patriots at the beginning of this fierce onslaught, but they soon recovered and fought like veterans. The slaughter was dreadful.

Colonel Cox (who had been the most violent in his taunts of Herkimer), a son of Colonel Paris, and Captain Van Slyk, were killed at the first fire, and the general had a horse killed under him by a musket ball, which shattered his own leg just below the knee, at the beginning of the fray. With the coolest courage he ordered his saddle to be taken from his dead horse and placed against a large beech tree. Seated upon it there, his men falling around him like the foliage, and the bullets flying like driving sleet, he calmly gave his orders, and so signally rebuked those who had called him a coward. In this way he was exposed for nearly an hour, while the fierce battle raged, and which ended in a terrible hand to hand conflict, when Johnson's Greens and a portion of Butler's Tories made a bayonet charge, and were firmly met by the patriots. At that juncture a heavy thunder-peal broke over the forest, and the rain came down in such torrents that the combatants ceased their strife and sought shelter beneath the trees. It was at the close of this shower that Willet made his sortie from the fort and fell upon Johnson's camp.

During this lull in the battle both parties viewed the ground and made new preparations for attack. It soon began with such a destructive fire on the part of the patriots that the Indians gave way. Then Major Watts came up with Johnson's Greens, the most of them refugees from the Mohawk Valley, who were recognized by Herkimer's men. Mutual resentments fired the zeal of each, and the struggle was deadly. They leaped upon each other like contending tigers, and fought hand to hand with bayonets and knives, with all the cruelty and fierceness which generally distinguish civil wars.

While this conflict was raging, a firing was heard in

the direction of the fort. It was the attack of Willet upon the enemy's camp. Colonel Butler instantly employed a stratagem which was nearly successful. He so changed the dress of a portion of Johnson's Greens as to make them appear like the patriots, and marching from the direction of the fort, they were at first (as Butler intended) mistaken for a reinforcement. The mistake was only momentary. The pretended friends were furiously attacked and soon scattered in disorder. The dismayed Indians raised the cry of retreat and fled in all directions. The Tories and Canadians caught the panic, and the whole force of invaders ran westward followed by the patriots with shouts of victory.

For six hours the conflict, known as the battle of Oriskany, had lasted. It was the bloodiest encounter, considering the numbers engaged, that occurred during the war. Both parties had suffered dreadfully and neither might claim a victory. The patriots remained masters of the field, but they did not afford relief to Fort Schuyler. Their commander was carried to his home, just below the Little Falls of the Mohawk, where he died nine days afterward. The loss of the patriots was estimated at one hundred and sixty killed and a large number wounded. The Indians lost about seventy, among whom were several chiefs. What number of the British white people were lost is not known. It was said that quite a large number of Johnson's Tories were killed by the Indians, who conceived the idea that there was a secret understanding between Herkimer and Johnson that the savages should be massacred.

St. Leger so closely besieged Fort Schuyler after this sortie that no correct statement of the affairs at Oriskany

could reach the garrison. He took advantage of this circumstance to claim a victory in that battle, and to set forth in glowing colors a pretended victorious advance of Burgoyne down the valley of the Hudson, hoping, through trepidation, to bring the garrison to a surrender. Two prisoners, Colonel Bellinger and Major Frey, were forced to write a letter to Gansevoort on the evening after the battle, containing many misrepresentations and advising him to cease further resistance. This was taken to the fort under a flag by Colonel Butler, who made a verbal demand for a surrender. Gansevoort refused to receive any such demand excepting from St. Leger himself. On the following day Butler and two other officers returned with such demand from the British commander. One of these officers, speaking for St. Leger, assured Gansevoort that the only salvation for the garrison from massacre lay in an immediate surrender, for it was with much difficulty that they could restrain the Indians; that the commander made the proposition through feelings of humanity; that the Indians were eager to march down the country and destroy the inhabitants, and that if the garrison did not comply it would be out of the power of St. Leger to renew the proposition; that the garrison should be allowed honorable terms, and that the total destruction of Herkimer's relief corps, and the fact that Burgoyne had possession of Albany, extinguished all hope of succor for the garrison. This speech, made up of falsehoods, persuasion, and threats, excited the indignation of the patriots, and Colonel Willet, deputed by Gansevoort to reply, said, as he relates in his narrative: "Do I understand you, sir? I think you say that you came from a British colonel, who is commander of the army that invests this fort, and, by

your uniform, you appear to be an officer in the British service. You have made a long speech on the occasion of your visit which, stripped of all its superfluities, amounts to this—that you come from a British colonel to the commandant of this garrison, to tell him that if he does not deliver up the garrison into the hands of your colonel, he will send his Indians to murder our women and children. You will please to reflect, sir, that their blood will be upon your heads, not upon ours. We are doing our duty; this garrison is committed to our charge, and we will take care of it. After you get out of it you may turn round and look at its outside, but never expect to come in again, unless you come a prisoner. I consider the message you have brought a degrading one for a British officer to send, and by no means reputable for a British officer to carry. For my own part, I declare, before I would consent to deliver this garrison to such a murdering set as your army, by your own account, consists of, I would suffer my body to be filled with splinters and set on fire, as you know has at times been practised by such hordes of woman and children killers as belong to your army." The sentiments of the garrison were in accord with these brave words, and the officers were satisfied that Herkimer's party could not be destroyed and that Burgoyne could not be at Albany, for if so, St. Leger would not seem so anxious for an immediate surrender of the garrison.

On the 9th of August, St. Leger sent a written demand for a surrender, in substance like that given by Major Ancram, the mouth piece of Colonel Butler. Gansevoort immediately replied: "Sir, your letter of this date I have received, in answer to which I say that it is my determined resolution, with the force under my command, to defend

this post to the last extremity, in behalf of the United States, who have placed me here to defend it against all their enemies." This answer was unexpected to St. Leger, and he saw before him a long siege, for his cannon had no effect upon the sod-work of the fort. So he commenced approaching it by the slow process of parellels, and running a mine under its most formidable bastions. At the same time he sent out an address to the people of Tryon County, signed by Johnson, Claus, and Butler, in which they strongly declared their desire for peace, promised pardon and protection to all who should submit, and threatening all the horrors of Indian cruelty if they should continue to resist. They called upon the principal men of the Valley to come up to Fort Schuyler and compel the garrison to do at once what they would be compelled to do finally—surrender. Like St. Leger's proclamation, this was treated with contempt and the siege went on.

Gansevoort, fearing the besiegers might be reinforced, or that the siege might continue until his provisions were exhausted, now determined to send to General Schuyler, then at Stillwater, information concerning the state of affairs at the fort, and implore his assistance. The brave Willet volunteered to be the messenger. Lieutenant Stockwell, an excellent wood-craftsman, agreed to accompany him as a guide. At ten o'clock on a very stormy night, while thunder-shower after thunder-shower came down in fury, these men left the fort by the sally-port, each armed with a spear, and crept stealthily upon their hands and knees along a morass to the river. They crossed the stream upon a log, and were soon beyond the line of drowsy sentinels. It was extremely dark, for the heavens were hung with the thickest clouds. Their pathway led

through tangled forests and oozy morasses, and very soon, with nothing to guide them, they lost their way. They heard the barking of a dog which indicated that they were near an Indian camp, and for hours they stood still, fearing to move forward for fear of penetrating the circle of an enemy. Toward dawn the last shower ceased, the clouds broke, and the morning star in the east beamed out brilliantly like a harbinger of hope. They saw their course and pursued it in a ziz-zag way, sometimes, like the Indians, traversing the bed of a stream to foil pursuers that might be upon their trail. In this manner they reached the settlement at the German Flatts in safety, where, after a brief rest, they mounted fleet horses and hurried down the valley to the house of Dirck Swart, at Stillwater (yet standing), where General Schuyler had his head-quarters, and laid the whole matter before that commander. That was on the afternoon of the 12th of August. He had already been informed of the affair at Oriskany by a letter from General Herkimer, dated on the 8th, and to which he had replied: "The gallantry of you and the few men that stood with you, and repulsed such a superior number of savages, reflects great honor upon you I have sent on some Continental troops three days ago, another party is gone to-day, and as the militia is coming up I shall send you further reinforcements, and hope we shall be able to give effectual relief to Fort Schuyler." He was devising other measures for the relief of that post, when Willet and Stockton reached him.

Not a moment was to be lost. The subjugation of the whole valley would immediately follow the surrender of Fort Schuyler, and the victors, gathering strength from the timid Whigs and encouraged Tories, might fall like an

avalanche upon Albany, or, by junction with Burgoyne, swell to huge proportions his approaching army, then moving slowly down from Fort Edward toward Saratoga, with a belief that Baume would bring ample supplies from Bennington. The prudent foresight and far-reaching humanity of General Schuyler at once dictated his course. He called a council of officers immediately, and proposed sending a detachment of the army to the relief of the beleaguered garrison. His officers opposed him with the fact that his whole army was not then sufficiently strong to stay the march of Burgoyne. The clearer judgment of Schuyler made him persist in his opinion and vehemently urge the necessity of the proposed course. They still opposed him, and while he was pacing the floor of the room in the most anxious solicitude, he overheard the half-whispered remark, "He means to weaken the army." It was an epitome of all the slanders with which he had been assailed since the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and he heard this charge of implied treason with the hottest indignation. He turned instantly upon the slanderer, and unconciously biting into several pieces a clay pipe which he was smoking, he exclaimed, in a voice that awed the whole company into silence: "Gentlemen, I shall take the responsibility upon myself; where is the brigadier that will take command of the relief? I shall beat up for volunteers to-morrow." The brave and impulsive Arnold, ever ready for deeds of daring, who was one of the council, and knew how unjust was the thought that there could be treason in the heart of General Schuyler, at once stepped forward and offered his services. On the following morning (August 13th, 1777) the drum beat for volunteers, and before noon eight hundred stalwart men were enrolled for

the expedition. "It gives me great satisfaction," Schuyler wrote to Arnold that day, in giving him instructions for the conduct of the expedition, "that you have offered to go and conduct the military operations in Tryon County." He was directed to repair thither as soon as possible with his volunteers, assume command of all the Continental troops in that region, and to take with him as many militia as he might prevail upon to go. He was directed to hasten to the relief of Fort Schuyler, and to apply to Henry Glenn, of Schenectady, the deputy quarter-master-general, for transportation in the form of wagons and batteaux; at the same time he was assured that his march need not be retarded in waiting for supplies, as the country through which he would march was capable of furnishing them in sufficient quantity. He instructed him not to unnecessarily offend the already too unfriendly Mohawks; gave him a warrant for $1,000 in specie with which he was to conciliate the Oneidas and induce them to assist him; and he directed Arnold to tell them that he had "a genteel present for them" whenever any of them should come down. As the inhabitants of Tryon County were chiefly Germans, he suggested that it might be well for Arnold to praise their bravery in the affair at Oriskany, and ask their gallant aid in the enterprise before him. He added: "If Fort Schuyler shall unhappily have fallen into the enemy's hands, you will then so dispose of your troops as may best cover the country."

CHAPTER XVI.

General Arnold's volunteers consisted chiefly of the Massachusetts brigade, commanded by General Learned, some of which Schuyler had already sent in the same direction. With a part of his force Arnold pushed on rapidly to Fort Dayton, where he arrived on the 20th of August, and where he intended to wait for the remainder under Learned; but hearing there of the imminent peril of Fort Schuyler he pressed onward, determined to hazard a battle before it should be too late.

Meanwhile St. Leger had advanced by parellels to within one hundred and fifty yards of the fort, and the garrison, ignorant of the fate of Willet and Stockwell, or of the relief that was approaching from below, began to feel uneasy. Some hinted to Gansevoort that as their provisions and ammunition were getting low it might be a humane policy to surrender. But the colonel's brave and hopeful nature could not be made to yield to dangers or doubts, and he repelled every shadow of a proposition to give up until absolutely compelled to. He told his followers that he intended to hold the fort until his provisions and ammunition should give out, when he would sally out at night and cut his way through the enemy's ranks. Suddenly, on the 22d of August, that enemy broke up their camp, abandoned the siege and fled so precipitately

from before the fort that they left their tents, artillery, and camp equipage behind them.

This movement was an inexplicable mystery to the garrison, but it was soon solved. We have just observed that Arnold determined to risk a battle. He knew that his small force was not adequate to sustain a regular engagement, and he resorted to strategem. Among some Tory prisoners then at Fort Dayton was an unlettered and half idiot, named Hon Yost Cuyler, a nephew of General Herkimer. He had been tried for crime and condemned to death. His mother implored his pardon. Arnold promised it on condition that Hon Yost, with a friendly Oneida Indian, should repair to St. Leger's camp, and by representing the immense number of Americans on the march for the relief of Fort Schuyler, so frighten him as to induce him to raise the siege. Hon Yost promised and set off with the Oneida, leaving his brother Nicholas as a hostage for his faithfulness. He had several bullets shot through his coat before leaving Fort Dayton, and with these evidences of a "terrible engagement with the enemy" he appeared among the Indians in St. Leger's camp running with all his might and nearly out of breath. He appeared to be terribly frightened; told them that he had barely escaped with his life from the approaching Americans, who were as numerous as the leaves on the trees or the stars in the sky, and shook his head mysteriously. The Indians were greatly alarmed. They had been discontented since the battle of Oriskany, and were then holding a *pow-wow*—a consultation of the Great Spirit concerning their future action. They at once resolved on flight, and sent Hon Yost to the quarters of St. Leger, who questioned him. He told that commander that Gen-

eral Arnold, with two thousand men, would be upon him in twenty-four hours. At that moment the Oneida made his appearance from another direction, accompanied by two or three members of his tribe whom he had picked up on the way, and they confirmed Hon Yost's story. The valley below, one of them said, was swarming with warriors. Another said that Burgoyne's army was cut to pieces, and a third assured St. Leger that Arnold had three thousand men. When questioned about numbers they shook their heads mysteriously and like Hon Yost they pointed upward to the leaves and the stars.

The savages, now thoroughly alarmed, resolved to fly. St. Leger tried to persuade them to remain. He offered them bribes and made them promises, but they would not listen to them; he tried to make them drunk, but they would not drink; he begged them to take the rear in the retreat, which confirmed their suspicions that he intended foul play. "You mean to sacrifice us," they said. "When you marched down you said there would be no fighting for us Indians; we might go down and smoke our pipes; whereas numbers of our warriors have been killed and you mean to sacrifice us also." Then the Indians fled in a panic. The fright was communicated to the rest of the camp, and in a few hours the besiegers were retreating in hot haste toward the boats on Oneida Lake. Hon Yost managed to escape, returned to his friends, and by this exploit wiped out the odium of being a fool.

Arnold issued, at Fort Dayton, on the 23d of August, a proclamation to the people of Tryon County, intended to counteract the address put forth by Johnson, Claus, and Butler, and had then marched on ten miles toward Fort Stanwix, where he was met by a messenger from Ganse-

voort who told him of the flight of the enemy. He sent forward nine hundred men with orders to pursue them, and he reached the fort the following day himself. Ganse-voort had already sent out a detachment after the fugitives, who followed them some distance and returned, when the pursuit was abandoned. Colonel Willet was placed in command of the fort, and Arnold and his troops marched back and joined the main body of the Northern Army, on the Hudson, with which he afterward performed valorous deeds for his country.

The Indians murdered and plundered their white allies in this pell-mell retreat, and became "more formidable," St. Leger said, "than the enemy they had to expect." The regulars, Tories, and Canadians, half starved and half naked, made their way to Oswego, and thence went down Lake Ontario to Canada. At the falls of the river above Oswego (now Fulton), St. Leger received a letter from Burgoyne which satisfied him that he had been made the victim of a successful trick.

The repulse of St. Leger and the utter failure of his expedition against Fort Schuyler and the Mohawk Valley was a severe blow to the hopes of Burgoyne. He had moved down the east side of the Hudson River to the mouth of the Batten Kill, nearly opposite Saratoga; made his head-quarters at the house of William Duer (then in Congress), near Fort Miller; encamped his army on the plain at the junction of the streams; constructed a bridge of boats across the river, and threw over Fraser's corps to form a fortified camp on the heights of Saratoga.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 17th of August Burgoyne received news of Stark's victory at Bennington, and he resolved to start immediately with his

whole army to save, if possible, what was left of his own troops after the battle. Captain Gerlach, of Riedesel's corps, led the van, and soon met Colonel Breyman with what troops had escaped slaughter or captivity, when all returned to the camp on the Batten Kill. Perceiving the hopelessness of obtaining the much-needed supplies from the east, Burgoyne told his army plainly, in a general order issued a few hours later, that, "the attempt [to get supplies] having failed through the chances of war," they must "necessarily halt for some days," to await the arrival of his magazines from the rear. At the same time he charged Riedesel with the duty of keeping open the communication with Forts Anne and George. For this purpose that officer fell back to Fort Edward with the German regiments of Rhetz and Hesse Hanau, and the 47th English regiment, and encamped at John's Farm on the 19th of August, where he was joined by his family, which had lately come from Germany with the recruits from that country. His charming wife has left, in her letters written from this country to her friends, and in her journals, exquisite pictures of camp life, and of society, manners and customs in America, while she remained in the country. She willingly endured every privation for the privilege of being with her husband. Her first experience in camp was a foretaste of what often occurred. Their quarters were at the "Red House," near Fort Edward, which contained "only one room and a bed-chamber." They dined in a barn, with boards laid across barrels for seats, and ate bear's meat frequently, because of the scarcity of other animal food.

Burgoyne's hopes now centred upon the assured success of St. Leger in the west. But within ten days after

the calamity at Bennington he received the direful news of the utter failure of the western expedition. A courier, guided by a friendly Indian, had hastened with a message from St. Leger, by way of Saratoga Lake and Glen's Falls, telling him of his disasters. The news almost disheartened the usually hopeful Burgoyne. It fell like an incubus upon the spirits of his army. The fidelity of the Indians in his camp began to waver, for they were always fair-weather warriors; and the Canadians and timid loyalists became lukewarm and deserted by hundreds. He wrote to the ministry despondingly: "The great bulk of the country is undoubtedly with the Congress in principle and zeal, and their measures are executed with a secrecy and despatch that are not to be equalled. Wherever the king's forces point, militia to the amount of three or four thousand assemble in twenty-four hours; they bring with them their subsistence, etc., and, the alarm over, they return to their farms. The Hampshire Grants, in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race of the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm upon my left." He complained that Howe had not coöperated in his favor from below, and the consequence was that American troops from the Highlands had been sent to the Northern Army. He said if he was free to choose his mode of action he would remain where he was, or perhaps fall back to Fort Edward, where his communications with Fort George were secure; but as his orders to force a junction with Howe were imperative he should remain inactive no longer than circumstances should compel him to. When reinforcements, then on Lake Champlain, should reach the army, and he had collected sufficient provisions for twenty-five

days, he should cross the Hudson River and proceed toward Albany. "I yet do not despair," he said. "Should I succeed in forcing my way to Albany, and find that country in a state to subsist my army, I shall think no more of a retreat, but, at the worst, fortify there and await Sir William's operations."

Burgoyne's perplexity was great. To proceed would be madness; to retreat would not only lose him a promised Order, perhaps a peerage, but would operate powerfully in giving friends to the Republicans. The idea of British invincibility would be dissipated, and thousands who favored the cause of the king on account of that supposed invincibility would become at least mere passive loyalists. In this view of the case he resolved to remain where he was until the panic in his army should subside and his stores be brought forward from his posts on Lakes George and Champlain. He was also in daily expectation of advices from Sir William Howe or Sir Henry Clinton at New York, announcing a coöperating movement up the Hudson, which might draw away American troops from the Northern Army for the protection of the country below, and so make diversions in favor of Burgoyne.

Burgoyne's disasters and his slow movements down the Hudson Valley in consequence of the wise policy and untiring exertions of General Schuyler, had a most salutary moral effect. The patriots were encouraged and the loyalists disheartened. Schuyler felt his own hopes brightening, which only a few days before seemed shrouded in gloom, when he felt compelled to write to Washington (on the 13th) when sending him a return of his army: "At the very least, one-half of those returned on command are in such places that they cannot be of any service

to us, and since that return Van Schaick's, Bailey's, and Jackson's are marched to the relief of Fort Schuyler by the unanimous advice of all the general officers here. We have not one militia-man from the Eastern States and under forty from this. Can it, therefore, any longer be a matter of surprise that we are obliged to give way and retreat before a vastly superior force daily increasing in numbers, and which will be doubled if General Burgoyne reaches Albany, which I apprehend will be very soon. Last night I received a letter from Governor Trumbull, advising me that the militia from the State of Connecticut were ordered to Peekskill, and Mr. President Sever of the Massachusetts, in a letter of the 29th ult., informs me that orders had been issued for the march of one-sixth part of six regiments in the County of Worcester and one in the County of Middlesex. When these arrive, if ever they do, our strength will not be much increased, as I do not suppose they will exceed five or six hundred men." He wrote a congratulatory letter to Stark on the 19th of August, on the signal victory he had gained. "Please to accept my best thanks," he said. "The consequence of the severe stroke they [the enemy] have had cannot fail of being the most salutary. I have despatched one of my aid-de-camps to announce your victory to Congress and the commander-in-chief. Governor Clinton is coming up with a body of militia, and I trust that, after what the enemy have experienced from you, their progress will be retarded, and that we shall still see them driven out of this part of the country."

To General Lincoln he wrote on the same day, expressing the same hopes, and saying: "If the enemy have entirely left that part of the country you are in, I think it

would be advisable for you to move toward Hudson's River, tending toward Stillwater; but as you are on the spot, and better able to judge than I can be, you will use your discretion." With the hope of receiving news of the relief of Fort Schuyler by Arnold, he wrote to Congress on the same day: "If that takes place it will be possible to engage two or three hundred Indians to join the army, and Congress may rest assured that my best endeavors will not be wanting to accomplish it."

These hopes had a solid foundation. There were evidences everywhere that the people were aroused from their despondency. The harvest was gathered and the yeomen were taking the field. There seemed to be a general exultation of feeling throughout the country, for the hostile savages had disappeared in the forests and could not be drawn forth; the foreign mercenaries, whose powers had been so much magnified by the friends of the king, had been beaten by militia, and farmers who had never seen a cannon had captured British artillery. Light began to break in upon minds darkened by the foul mists of slander which had been wide-spread by partisans in and out of Congress concerning the ability and patriotism of General Schuyler since the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and there was a rapidly growing appreciation of his great and patriotic services, which now seemed to make men willing to give him means for striking the invaders an offensive and effectual blow.

With the wisest precaution Schuyler had moved the army down to the islands at the fords of the Mohawk, where that river empties into the Hudson. This movement was in pursuance of the unanimous advice of a council of officers held on the 13th of August (the day when

the expedition under Arnold, for the relief of Fort Schuyler, was raised), who decided that the post at Stillwater was untenable; and there, with rapidly augmenting means placed in his hands, he was preparing to move forward and attack Burgoyne. For many weeks he had kept that invader back with only a handful of men (too few to warrant an engagement with the foe), whom he had continually encouraged by words and deeds, while truly informing the proper authorities, civil and military, of the deplorable condition of the Northern army. Now he was about to strike for victory, and reap the reward of his anxious, wonderful, patriotic toils, when, on the evening of the 19th of August, General Gates arrived in his camp and took command of the army, in accordance with the following resolution, passed by Congress on the 1st of that month :—

"*Resolved,* That Major-General Schuyler be directed to repair to head-quarters.

"That General Washington be directed to order such general officer as he shall think proper to repair immediately to the Northern Department, to relieve Major-General Schuyler in his command there."

This, and a copy of another resolution, passed on the 29th of July, directing "that an inquiry be made into the reasons of the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and into the conduct of the general officers who were in the Northern Department at the time of the evacuation," were forwarded to Schuyler on the 5th of August, accompanied by a letter from President Hancock, directing him to repair to head-quarters. At about the same time a committee, consisting of Messrs. Laurens, John Adams, Dyer, Roberdeau, and Folsom were appointed to digest and report the mode of conducting the inquiry.

On the following day a committee, consisting of Messrs. Laurens, Wilson, J. Adams, Duane, and Law, were appointed to "consider the state of affairs in the Northern Department," and they were ordered to "confer with General Washington, and report as soon as possible." They did so on the 3d of August (his head-quarters then being in Philadelphia), when the successor of General Schuyler was given more aid and larger discretionary powers than had hitherto been conferred, by the following resolution :—

"*Resolved*, That General Washington be directed to order the general whom he shall judge proper to relieve General Schuyler in his command, to repair with all possible expedition to the Northern Department, giving him directions what numbers of the militia to call forth from the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

"That notice be immediately sent to the executive powers of the said States, and that they be earnestly requested to get the militia in those parts of their respective States most contiguous to the Northern Department ready to march at a moment's warning, and to send, with all possible expedition, such parts of them as the General commanding in the Northern Department shall require, to serve till the 15th of November, if not sooner relieved by Continental troops, or dismissed by the commanding officer of the department, and be entitled to Continental pay and rations.

"That the commanding officer in the Northern Department have discretionary power to make requisitions on the States aforesaid, from time to time, for such additional numbers of the militia, to serve in that department, as he shall judge necessary for the public service."

The resolution of Congress relieving General Schuyler of his command reached that gentleman at Albany on the 10th of August, five days after it left Philadelphia. He was just on the point of mounting his horse to repair to the army at the mouth of the Mohawk when the despatch arrived. Only the day before he had written to General Lincoln, as we have seen, concerning the grievances of which Stark complained, asking him to say to that officer

that "the greater the sacrifice he makes to his feelings, the greater will be the honor due to him for not having suffered any consideration whatever to come in competition with the weal of his country." Schuyler was now called upon to exercise that philosophy, and he did it nobly. He went back to his study, pulled off his spurs, and wrote to President Hancock:

"I am this moment honored with your favor of the 5th instant, inclosing the resolutions of Congress of the 29th ult. and 1st instant. I am far from being insensible of the indignity of being ordered from the command of the army at a time when an engagement must soon take place. It, however, gives me great consolation that I shall have an opportunity of evincing that my conduct has been such as deserved the thanks of my country. I will not acknowledge that my exertions have been exceeded by any officer in this department, and the force of conviction will make others avow it."

Two days later, in a letter thanking General Stark for compliance with his request to come to the army with New Hampshire troops, he said: "Be assured I would not wish you to do anything inconsistent with honor; but in this critical conjuncture, if a gentleman, while he asserts his rights, sacrifices his feelings to the good of his country, he will merit the thanks of his country." In his letter to Washington on the 13th, just mentioned, he alluded to the subject, in saying: "Whether the resolution of Congress, ordering me to repair to head-quarters at this critical juncture, was a wise one, time must determine. It is a very disgraceful one to me, and my feelings on the occasion are very sensible." To the Council of Safety of New York he wrote on the same day: "Disgraceful as the measure is to me at this critical conjuncture, it leaves me the consolation that the public will, by such an inquiry, be authentically informed how unjustly my character has suffered."

The safety of his country held a paramount place in the heart of General Schuyler, and he would not endanger that safety by obeying the commands of Congress to repair to head-quarters until his successor, whoever he might be, should arrive in camp; so he continued his strong exertions against Burgoyne and St. Leger, as we have seen, with signal success, and on the 15th of August, fourteen days after the date of the summons for him to repair to head-quarters, he wrote to Congress from the army, "Five miles below Stillwater:"

"Yesterday I was honored with a letter from his Excellency, General Washington, in which he observes that, as it is probable you will be on your way when this reaches you, I presume it unnecessary for me to enlarge upon the subject of your several letters. But as the resolution of Congress directed that I should be relieved by an officer to be sent by his Excellency, and that officer not yet arrived, nor any here named to take the command, I thought it my duty to remain with the army until either took place. I have the satisfaction to find that the general officers in this department extremely regret the necessity of my being obliged to leave them; and altho' it is their duty, as well as mine, to acquiesce in the determination of Congress, they have nevertheless thought that my presence was so necessary at this important crisis, that they have requested me to remain some time in the department after I shall be relieved, in order to bring up the militia, too many of whom, unhappily, refuse to march, and assign for reasons that the command is taken from me. I shall, therefore, in consequence of the application of the general officers, which I have the honor to inclose, and out of regard to my country, venture to continue some time longer, trusting that my motives will shelter me against the effects of any censure that I may on this account experience. But, sir, altho' I shall make a great sacrifice to my feelings on the present occasion by acting under a junior officer, I owe it to myself to assure Congress that as soon as an inquiry is made into my conduct, the result of which cannot fail of being as honorable to me as chagrining to many, I shall put it out of the power of anybody on earth, however respectable, to offer me further indignities, and shall, therefore, resign every office I hold under Congress. The Indian affairs, which daily engross much of my attention, from the very frequent messages and belts I receive from them in this distressing day, will claim that of Congress without delay, for if Fort Schuyler should be relieved, which I have good hopes will be the case, as General Arnold is on march with a

body of troops which, with the militia of Tryon County, I trust will be competent to the business, the Indians of the Six Nations will immediately repair to Albany. The business to be transacted with them will be of the first importance, and requires some address to prosecute it with propriety. Mr. Douw is removed; Colonel Woolcot and Mr. Edwards in New England, and I shall probably have left Albany when the Indians arrive. It is, therefore, necessary that commissioners should be immediately appointed. Permit me to add that no time ought to be lost on this occasion.

"May I be permitted to request Congress to be furnished with the charges to which I am to answer, that I may bring down with me the papers and witnesses necessary to refute them.

"The Eastern papers contain accounts of vast bodies of militia having been ordered from thence to this quarter. I hope my successor will have the happiness of seeing them arrive in time to prevent the enemy's progress; but we have not yet the saitsfaction of being joined by any from thence, and have only about sixty or seventy on the ground from this State."

CHAPTER XVII.

That General Schuyler was a victim of a conspiracy at this time, no careful student of our history can reasonably doubt. Let us here take a view of the circumstances connected with his removal from the command of the Northern Department and the appointment of General Gates to succeed him, and see whether they justify such a belief.

We have seen how earnestly New England delegates in Congress had shown their desires for more than a year that Gates should have the command of that Department; how willingly they and some of the New England officers allowed the most injurious slanders to be propagated concerning General Schuyler, and how well they succeeded in securing their object, once partially and again wholly, for a brief season. We have seen how abruptly General Gates left the Northern Department when General Schuyler's character and conduct were so thoroughly vindicated by the inquiry and conclusions of a committee of Congress that they felt compelled to reinstate him in command, even the friends of the displaced General not having the courage, in the face of that vindication, to oppose the measure. We have seen how Gates was admitted to the floor of Congress on the motion of a delegate from Connecticut with the pretence that the General desired to make an important communication, and how angrily, disgracefully, and contemptuously he behaved before that

body, which meekly bore his insolence without officially reproving him.

From that time Gates and his friends were the persistent enemies of General Schuyler. The former, through the medium of passion, saw in the commander of the Northern Department, who had always treated him with the most considerate kindness and bestowed upon him his generous confidence, nothing but a hated rival. He lingered in Philadelphia, spending much time with his friends in Congress to the neglect of duties which Washington directed him to perform at that critical time; and when the news of the loss of Ticonderoga went over the land, he was among the loudest who denounced the evacuation as a criminal act, and held the commander of the Northern Department responsible for it. No effort was spared to impress the country with the belief that Schuyler was either wholly incompetent to perform the duties of his office, or was disloyal to his flag, or both. Every art was practised to make him unpopular with the New England people, and the fact that they were tardy in leaving their harvest-fields and repairing to camp in numbers sufficient to enable Schuyler to do more than act on the defensive, was pointed at as evidence of Schuyler's unpopularity.

This view of the case was presented to Congress late in July, when the conspiracy for Schuyler's removal was ripe. It was suddenly pressed upon the attention of that body with a strange vehemence. Schuyler's friends in Congress were taken by surprise. Mr. Duane, as we have seen, wrote to him on the 29th of July, telling him that he would probably be called to an account for the evacuation of Ticonderoga, a proceeding which Schuyler most earnestly desired, and urged his friends in Congress to

press that body to make the most rigid scrutiny into his conduct. "I would not, however, wish the scrutiny to take place immediately," he said to Duane, "as we shall probably soon have an engagement, if we are so reinforced with militia as to give us a probable chance for success. * * * Be assured, my dear friend, if a general engagement takes place, whatever may be the event, you will not have occasion to blush for your friend."

From the hour when, on the 29th of July, Congress resolved that an investigation concerning the loss of Ticonderoga should be made, the matter was pressed with unseemly zeal. It appeared as if Gates' friends were apprehensive that some turn in affairs in the Northern Department might not leave them a decent excuse for the removal of General Schuyler, and they pressed upon Congress the necessity of a change in command there with such vehemence, that three days after passing the resolution for an investigation, they adopted the one relieving him and ordering him to head-quarters.

It was a moment of great gloom throughout the country, for the future was then shrouded in uncertainty, and it was of the utmost importance that every man capable of bearing arms should be in the field. Schuyler's letters continually informed Congress of his lack of reinforcements and the desertion of the militia, which his enemies charged to his unpopularity and the utter lack of confidence in his military ability. New England delegates, who disbelieved every word uttered against his abilities and patriotism, saw in the fact of the tardiness of the militia in moving toward his department, whatever might be the cause, a sufficient ground for making a change; and Schuyler's personal friends in Congress, though satisfied

that such was not the cause, and so declared, felt compelled to acquiesce in the measure for his removal, and so sacrifice him to what seemed to be the public good. "Your enemies," James Duane wrote three weeks later, "relentless, and bent on your destruction, would willingly include you in the odium of losing Ticonderoga. The change of command was not, however, founded on this principle, but merely on the representation of the Eastern States that their militia, suspicious of your military character, would not turn out in defence of New York while you presided in the Northern Department. So confident were they in their assertions, and such, from your own representations, was the gloomy aspect of affairs there, that the Southern members were alarmed, and we thought it prudent not to attempt to stem the torrent."*

John Jay wrote to Schuyler from Kingston: "Washington and Congress were assured that unless another general presided in the Northern Department the militia of New England would not be brought into the field. The Congress, under this apprehension, exchanged their general for the militia—a bargain which can receive no justification from the supposed necessity of the times."†

So anxious were Gates' friends in Congress to have him appointed to fill Schuyler's place, that on the day after that body, by resolution, directed Washington to order such general officer as he should think proper to repair to the Northern Department and take command, the New England delegates addressed the following letter to the Commander-in-chief:

"SIR—As Congress have authorized your Excellency to send a proper officer to take the command in the Northern Department, we

* Autograph Letter, dated Philadelphia, August 23, 1777.
† Autograph Letter, September 12, 1777.

take the liberty to signify to your Excellency that, in our opinion, no man will be more likely to restore harmony, order, and discipline, and retrieve our affairs in that quarter, than Major-General Gates. He has, on experience, acquired the confidence, and stands high in the esteem, of the Eastern States and troops. With confidence in your wisdom, we cheerfully submit it to your Excellency's consideration, and have taken this method to communicate our sentiments, judging it would give you less trouble than a personal application. We are, with great esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servants."

"The original of this letter," says Dr. Sparks, "is in the handwriting of Samuel Adams, and is signed by the following names in the order in which they here stand: John Adams, Nathaniel Folsom, Samuel Adams, Henry Marchant, Eldridge Gerry, Eliphalet Dyer, William Williams. A prejudice existed against General Schuyler among the people of the New England States, which is not easy now to explain. There was not an individual connected with the Revolution concerning whom there is more abundant evidence of his patriotism and unwearied service in the cause of his country. But it was his misfortune to command where disasters crowded upon each other and disappointed public expectation. The failure of the Canada expedition, and recently the loss of Ticonderoga, with the disheartening prospects of a retreating army, were all laid to the charge of the commanding general; and the tide of public clamor, strengthened by the party antipathy of a few prominent politicians, was not to be resisted. Even the friends of General Schuyler acquiesced in his being superseded upon the conviction that the Eastern troops would not march to join the army under his command. This point was urged in Congress with great pertinacity by the Eastern delegates, but with more zeal than justice, as appears from the fact that a large reinforcement of troops was then preparing to march from New Hampshire, who achieved the brilliant victory of Bennington while General Schuyler was yet at the head of the army."*

Washington was not a man to be thus impertinently interfered with in the performance of his duty, and in a respectful letter to Congress on the 3d of August, he declined to act in the matter. Besides he had then lost confidence in Gates, and was unwilling to appoint him to a command for which he regarded him as unfitted. He said to the president of Congress in his letter that the North-

* Washington's Writings, V. 14.

ern Department, in a great measure, had been considered as separate and more peculiarily under their direction, and the officers commanding there always of their nomination. "I have never interfered," he said, "further than merely to advise and to give such aid as was in my power, on the requisition of these officers. The present situation of that department is delicate and critical, and the choice of an officer to the command may involve very interesting and important consequences."

Gates, through the force of Eastern influence, was appointed by Congress to the command of the Northern Department and soon set off for Albany, arriving at Schuyler's head-quarters, as we have observed, on the evening of the 19th of August. The patriot had been informed only a few days before who was to be his successor. Notwithstanding he was satisfied that Gates had been conspiring against him, he resolved to subordinate every personal consideration to the public weal. He had written to Duane on the 15th: "Last night I was advised that General Gates is on the point of arriving to relieve me. Your fears may be up, lest the ill-treatment I have experienced at his hands should so far get the better of my judgment as to embarrass him. Do not, my dear friend, be uneasy on that account. I am incapable of sacrificing my country to a resentment however just, and I trust I shall give an example of what a good citizen ought to do when he is in my situation. I am nevertheless daily more sensible of the affront Congress has so unjustly given me."

Schuyler received Gates cordially; proceeded to acquaint him with all the affairs of the department, the measures he had taken and those he had projected, and in-

formed him that he had signified to Congress his intention to remain in office in that department, for the present, and render every assistance in his power at that critical juncture.* On the same day Schuyler wrote to James Duane in Congress:

"I assure you, my dear sir, that I feel the indignity Congress has put on me with a poignancy easier to be conceived than described. An inquiry into my conduct, I trust, will not only redound to my honor, but to the mortification of those thro' whose inattention the public has experienced a variety of misfortunes in this quarter; and who these are I think I shall be able to point out so clearly as that not a doubt will remain. Whether the removing me from the command at this critical conjuncture was a wise measure or not, time and events must decide. The New England militia, or at least many of them, declared they would not march while I, and the general officers that were at Ticonderoga when it was evacuated, continued in command. On the contrary, the militia of the County of Albany almost unanimously declared that they will not serve if I quit the department. I have received the most alarming letters on this subject, but I am resolved to make another sacrifice to my country, and risk the censures of Congress, by remaining in this quarter after I am relieved, and bringing up the militia to the support of this weak army. * * * * I wish some of my friends had informed me who is to take the command. How I shall pity him altho' he should be my enemy, for he will find a choice of difficulties to encounter."

This drew from Duane a reply, in which he said:

"Your resolution to stay and exert yourself while the country remains in such imminent danger is worthy of a virtuous, brave and patriotic citizen. All your friends wish that fortune may put it in your power to give some signal proof of the only military talent which you have evidenced in the course of your command for want of an opportunity. They all pronounce that this would put your enemies to silence and to shame, and elevate you to the highest rank among the American Commanders.

"The application from the Eastern Generals for your continuance in the Department, and the respectable reinforcement from New Hampshire, which so palpably contradict the assertions of your enemies which were the basis of your removal, are no small occasion of triumph to such of us as predicted that you would be supported, and will not readily be forgotten."

* See Schuyler's Letter to Congress, dated August 15th, on page 301.

The determination of Schuyler to remain in the army was not pleasing to Gates, and excited his jealousy, and no doubt his fears also, that an investigation might result, as before, in the acquittal and reinstatement of one whom he now regarded as his rival. He was surprised, too, to find that the New England general officers of the army had joined with others in the expressions of regret because of the necessity which compelled Schuyler to leave the command of them; and he seemed determined to shun the patriot and take as little of his advice as possible. In a letter to Washington, on the 22d of August, he mentioned the signal victory gained by Stark at Bennington, and of the blow Herkimer had given the enemy at Oriskany; the march of Arnold to the relief of Fort Schuyler; thanked him for sending him Morgan's corps of riflemen, which he hoped would be serviceable, as he had been informed that the army had been quite panic-stricken by "the Indians and their Tory and Canadian assassins in Indian dress," and spoke of the expected appearance of Governor Clinton that day, saying: "Upon his arrival I shall consult with him and General Lincoln upon the best plan to distress, and, I hope, finally to defeat, the enemy."

In this letter Gates did not say one word about consulting General Schuyler, who had so thoroughly prepared the way for his successor to achieve victory and renown. He did not invite Schuyler to his first council of war, but called General Ten Broeck up from Albany to attend it. Such was the contrast between Schuyler's magnanimity and Gates' littleness. Gouverneur Morris, who was a friend of Gates, provoked by this mean spirit, remarked: "The commander-in-chief of the Northern Department may, if he please, neglect to ask or deign to

secure advice; but those who know him will, I am sure, be convinced that he wants it. Fortune may make him a great man in the estimation of the vulgar, who will fix their estimation at their own price, let the intrinsic value be what it will. But it is not in the power of fortune to bestow those talents which are necessary to render a person superior to her malice."*

General Schuyler, perceiving in Gates a disposition to act without his council and advice, no more intruded them upon him, but went forward in his path of duty to his country and calmly awaited the promised investigation. Rising above all mean resentments, he continued to correspond with Congress, and give his valuable advice, especially concerning the Indians, over whom he had more influence and a better knowledge of them, than any officer of the army or civilian in council. He even tendered to them his gratuitous services as a private gentleman, in any way in which he might be useful. As President of the Board of Commissioners of Indian Affairs (as we shall observe hereafter) he was vigilant and active. He gave specific advice concerning the conduct of the Six Nations, and recommended preparations to carry the war into the heart of their forest domain; and it was his counsel that eventually brought about the decisive expedition of General Sullivan in 1779.

The treatment Schuyler received at the hands of Congress and of Gates drew forth many sympathizing letters from his friends. Gouverneur Morris, who, with Jay, went to Philadelphia to represent the true state of affairs in the Northern Department, did not arrive there until

* Autograph Letter of Gouverneur Morris to General Schuyler dated at Kingston, Sept. 18, 1777.

the day after Schuyler was superseded. In a letter to the patriot, from Kingston, he wrote:

"You will readily believe that we were not pleased at this resolution, and I assure you for my own part, I feel exceedingly distressed at your removal, just when changing fortune began to declare in your favor. Congress, I hope, will perceive that our successes have been owing to the judicious plans adopted previous to your removal.

"Our representations of your situation have obtained, as by this time you must be sensible, such reinforcements for the Northern armies as will enable Gates to act with eclat if he has spirit and understanding sufficient for that purpose. His situation is certainly an eligible one. As his friend, I am pleased at the opportunity he has of acquiring honor, while I sincerely lament his possessing this opportunity at your expense."*

Grateful to his feelings as were sympathetic words of this kind, from friends, none touched his heart more sensibly than did the cordial expressions of an address of his fellow-citizens of the city and county of Albany, who had been eye-witnesses to his services in the cause of his country. This was delivered to him on the 7th of September, to which he made the following reply on the same day:

"*Gentlemen:*

"The Testimonial you have been pleased to give me of your approbation of my conduct while I had the honor to command the military in this Department affords me a very sensible satisfaction. As many of you, gentlemen, were inhabitants of that part of the country abandoned by the retreat of the army under my command to the power of the enemy, are very capital sufferers, and were witnesses of the necessity of the measures I adopted, it will, I hope, retard the progress of that calumny which has so unjustly and industriously been propagated against me.

"However chagrining the Resolutions of Congress were of the 29th and 30th of July, by which the command of the Northern Army was taken from me, I have a consolation which none can deprive me of, in the conscious reflection that I have done my duty both before and since the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and I trust that the strictest inquiry into my conduct will evince it; perhaps the Honorable Congress was

* Autograph Letter, August 27, 1777.

under the disagreeable necessity of sacrificing the feelings of an innocent individual to the general weal of the whole. If so, time will make it appear, and I shall not repine at having once more unjustly suffered in the cause of my country. Be pleased to accept of my best thanks, not only for your politeness and attention on this occasion, but for that support which I, with great pleasure, acknowledge to have received from you and my immediate countrymen during the course of my command."

General Schuyler was naturally anxious to have the investigation ordered by Congress as speedily as possible. That body had heard the report of the Committee on "the mode of conducting the inquiry into the causes of the evacuation of Ticonderoga," and on the 27th of August appointed a committee of three members to correspond with public or private persons, by letter or otherwise, whichever they might choose, in order to collect the clearest proofs concerning the army at those posts, to examine the merits of the council of war; what orders Schuyler had given from time to time, and every other matter properly bearing upon the subject. It was resolved that upon such inquiry and collection of facts, a copy of the whole should be transmitted by that Committee of Correspondence to General Washington, and that thereupon he should appoint a court-martial for the trial of the general officers who were in the Northern Department when Ticonderoga and Mount Independence were evacuated, agreeable to the rules and articles of war.

After that the matter slumbered in Congress until General Schuyler, in a letter to that body, written on the 29th of December, urged them, by every consideration of justice, to make the promised inquiry speedily. "I have suffered so much in public life," he said, "that it cannot create surprise if I anxiously wish to retire and pay that attention to my private affairs which the losses I have sus-

tained by the enemy, and the derangement occasioned by devoting all my time to the duties of my offices have occasioned, and yet the impropriety of resigning them before the inquiry has taken place or the committee reported my innocence is too striking to need dwelling on."

This was followed by an order in Congress on the 20th of January, 1778,

"That the committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and into the conduct of the general officers in the Northern Department, proceed immediately on that business and report on Monday next."

That committee reported on the 5th of February following, that they had made the fullest inquiry in their power upon the subject, and had collected a variety of evidence which they were ready to transmit to General Washington; whereupon it was

"*Resolved*, That the committee be directed to transmit the evidence by them collected to General Washington, and that he be authorized and directed to appoint a court-martial for the trial of the general officers who were in the Northern Department when Ticonderoga and Mount Independence were evacuated, agreeably to the rules and articles of war."

Congress then proceeded to the election of John D. Sergeant, attorney-general of the State of Pennsylvania, and William Patterson, attorney-general of the State of New Jersey, as counsellors "learned in the law," to "assist and coöperate with the judge-advocate in conducting the trial."

Months passed away before the court-martial was assembled. It was finally convened on the first day of October, 1778, at the house of Reed Ferris (yet standing), in the town of Pawling, Duchess County, N. Y., near Quaker Hill, where Washington had his head-quarters,

and which he had just evacuated. There General Schuyler was put upon his trial on that day.

The court was composed of the following officers:

Major-general BENJAMIN LINCOLN, *President.*

Brig-general	JOHN NIXON,	Colonel	RUFUS PUTNAM,
"	GEORGE CLINTON,	"	MORDECAI GIST,
"	ANTHONY WAYNE,	"	WILLIAM RUSSELL,
"	J. P. G. MUHLENBERG,	"	WILLIAM GRAYSON,
Colonel	JOHN GREATON,	"	WALTER STEWART,
"	FRANCIS JOHNSON,	"	R. J. MEIGS.

JOHN LAURENS, Judge Advocate.

The charge was *Neglect of Duty*, in not being present at Ticonderoga to discharge the functions of his command from the middle of June, 1777, until it was no longer possible to maintain Ticonderoga and Mount Independence consistent with the safety of the troops and stores, when he should have caused a retreat to be made for the preservation of both, under the 5th article of the 18th section of the rules and articles of war.

It was specified that the Northern Department included Albany, Ticonderoga, Fort Stanwix, and their dependencies, and that the act of Congress on the 22d of May, 1777, released him from all restraint respecting the place of his head-quarters:

That by letters to him by St. Clair, under various dates from the 13th of June to the 1st of July 1777, he was made acquainted with the probable designs of the enemy and of the great danger to the posts:

That in consequence of the first three letters from St. Clair, he went to Ticonderoga on the 20th of June and there held a council of war, composed of Major-generals Schuyler and St. Clair, and Brigadier-generals De Fermoy, Poor and Patterson; and though that council determined that the effective rank and file of the army at Ticonderoga

and Mount Independence were greatly inadequate to their defence, but that, nevertheless, both posts ought to be maintained as long as possible consistent with the safety of the troops and stores, and that the fortifications and lines on Mount Independence were very deficient, and that the repairs and additions to them ought to claim immediate attention, yet General Schuyler made no stay at Ticonderoga to expedite the work on Mount Independence, and to cause a retreat to be made when it became no longer possible to maintain the posts, consistent with the safety of the troops and stores, for his absence appears from General St. Clair's letter to him on the 24th of June and those that followed:

That Ticonderoga and Mount Independence being the posts of greatest defence to the United States against the advance of the British forces in Canada, and the main army in the Northern Department being stationed at those posts, it was General Schuyler's duty to have been at the head of that army and to have removed them when he knew the enemy were actually advanced against it:

That his forces were greatly inadequate to the defence of the posts, and that they were to be abandoned in the moment when it should become no longer possible to maintain them consistent with the safety of the troops and stores; a moment of which it was necessary the first officer in the department should judge; that in the absence of General Schuyler this critical and important movement passed unobserved, or unimproved, with the loss of the sick, ammunition, cannon, provisions, and clothing of the army, and the loss of many lives in the retreat.

The Judge Advocate having produced various documents, such as Acts of Congress referred to, and copies of

St. Clair's letters just mentioned, and other written testimony, opened the evidence. General Schuyler produced his official Letter Books, and summoned Lieutenant-colonel Richard Varick, his Secretary and confidential aid, and Major John Lansing, Jr, his clerk, to testify concerning the keeping of his records, and the verity of the copies of his letters. This verity having been established by the testimony of these two gentlemen, the general caused to be read to the court, from these Letter Books, various letters and their answers, bearing upon the subject of the inquiry. He then proceeded to make his defence in person.

The general opened with self-congratulations in having so excellent a tribunal before whom he was to be tried.* He referred to the charge as simple and confined to one point, and "the evidence added to support it," he said, "was compressed in a very small compass." He expressed a wish that the nature of his defence would "admit of equal conciseness." He then went into a brief history of his acts while in command of the Northern Department, from his appointment thereto in June, 1775, to his being superseded early in 1777, reinstated in May following, and his being finally superseded in August of that year. He then gave an outline of events during his last occupancy of the office, St. Clair's appointment to the command of the lake fortresses, and their evacuation.

General Schuyler referred to the charge of being absent

* Five of the thirteen members of the Board (Lincoln, Nixon, Greaton, Putnam and Meigs) were New England officers; only one (Clinton) was from Schuyler's own State; four (Wayne, Muhlenberg, Johnson and Stewart) were from Pennsylvania; one (Gist) was from Maryland; two (Russell and Grayson) were from Virginia; and the Judge Advocate (Laurens) was from South Carolina.

from the post and therefore neglectful of his duty during that time, and to that charge, he said, he was there to answer. As the loss was sensibly felt and had occasioned much surprise and resentment, he had presumed an inquiry would have been made by Congress so soon as the necessary information and evidence could be obtained, and that the respect due to that body had prevented his pressing them until nearly two months had elapsed after he had been superseded. After that, he said, he took the liberty of writing sundry letters to Congress, of which he proceeded to read extracts. These covered the time from September 27, 1777, to the 9th of May, 1778. He cited these repeated requisitions upon Congress to show that he had been ever anxious for an investigation, and said the delay had chagrined and injured him.

General Schuyler then admitted his absence, as charged, but begged leave to insist, and doubted not he should be able to prove, that he was guilty of no neglect of duty in not being there, and proposed to show his incessant attention to duty; the reasons of his absence from Ticonderoga; and that during that time, every part of his conduct gave evidence of care and attention; and that although superseded and calumniated, he uniformly continued his exertions in the common cause, and received frequent marks of the confidence of Congress, fairly showing that Congress still retained a favorable opinion of his attention to the public weal, as well as of his inclination to promote it.

At this point General Schuyler cited the letters of Hancock and resolutions of Congress, and his own letters to Congress, especially that to its committee, of November 8, 1776,* in which he gave a plan for strengthening the

* See page 146.

posts on Lake Champlain; copies of orders to commissaries and deputy quarter-masters, and a number of letters to other officers, all of which showed his entire devotion and attention to the business of the Department.

This trial lasted three days. Only Major-general St. Clair, Lieutenant-colonel Varick, and Major Lansing, were called as witnesses. After their examination he closed his defence with a few remarks, in which he said he wished briefly to observe that his correspondence showed that from the beginning of November, 1776, to the end of March following, a month after he was superseded, his exertions to prepare for the campaign of 1777 were without intermission; that immediately on his reappointment he returned to Albany and adopted every means possible to provide the necessaries for the campaign, to procure intelligence of the enemy's intentions, and to conciliate the affections or guard against the hostile intentions of the Indians; that eight days after his arrival in Albany he went to Ticonderoga and the northern communications to see, personally, what was to be done; and was on the point of doing the same to Fort Schuyler and the western communications, when General St. Clair's letter arrived, advising of the approach of the enemy; that he lost not a moment's time in applying for reinforcements both of Continental troops and militia; that he was on the way to put himself at the head of the small body of militia which had moved, when he received the account of the evacuation of Ticonderoga; that after that his exertions to prevent or retard the enemy's progress were without intermission, and not without success, until he was, unhappily for him, he said, "no longer permitted to direct the military operations in the Northern Department; that "from that time until

this day I have never ceased affording any aid in my power to give success to the glorious cause America is engaged in."

Every member of the court knew these allegations to be true; and the verdict was quickly given, as follows:

"The court having considered the charges against Major-general Schuyler, the evidence and his defence, are unanimously of opinion that he is NOT GUILTY of any Neglect of Duty in not being at Ticonderoga, as charged, and the court do therefore acquit him with the highest honor."

These proceedings of the Court were laid before Congress, and at their evening session on the 3d of December, 1778, they resolved "That the sentence of the General Court-martial acquitting Major-general Schuyler with the highest honor, be, and hereby is confirmed." Whereupon they ordered "That the proceedings of the said court-martial be published,"* and "that the above resolution be transmitted to the commander-in-chief."

The result of the trial was no surprise to General Schuyler's friends, nor to the public at large. It was a foregone conclusion in the minds of all intelligent citizens. Before the verdict was officially known, and several weeks before it was sanctioned by Congress, the Legislature of the State of New York, then sitting at Poughkeepsie, on the Hudson, appointed him a delegate from his State in the Continental Congress, and urged him to repair to Philadelphia immediately. But his sense of honor forbade him to take a seat in a body which had not yet decided upon his guilt or innocence. "I cannot think of going to Congress," he wrote from the place of his trial, "until I receive the determination of Congress on the sentence of

* These proceedings were published, in detail, in a thin folio volume.

the court-martial, perhaps not even then. I am appointed much against my inclination. I had entreated my friends to use their influence that I might not be sent. They have, I find, exerted it a contrary way. Pray entreat Messrs. Morris and Lewis and other friends to urge their [Congress] determination. It is extremely distressing to be continued in this awkward situation."*

"Your reason for not going thither [to Philadelphia] before Congress had determined on the sentence of the court of inquiry," Walter Livingston wrote to Schuyler, from Poughkeepsie, "was satisfactory, but how long that excuse will be deemed so, I cannot say, for you were elected while under sentence, consequently, all supposed, beyond all possibility of doubt, innocent, and therefore ought immediately to go to Congress."†

* Autograph Letter to Wm. Duer, Oct. 16, 1778.

† Autograph Letter, Oct. 16, 1778.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The perfectly clean record of General Schuyler's civil and military character while in command of the Northern Department, which was made by the Committee of investigation appointed by Congress in the spring of 1777, and by the court-martial in the autumn of 1778, seemed to be a sufficient reason why the tongue of slander should cease. It did cease, and honorable men, in and out of the army, who had believed false accusations to be true, hastened to express their convictions to the contrary.* No whisper

*The late Wm. J. Davies wrote to me as follows, under date of August 9, 1859: "A short time since I made some copies for Mr. Bancroft, from General Glover's letter-book, which had been loaned to him for that purpose, among which was one written at Stillwater, giving his opinion of the transactions which resulted in the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and the march of Burgoyne on to Saratoga. He mentions the existence of great clamors raised against Schuyler and St. Clair, in consequence of the fall of that fortress, and the subsequent reverses of the fleeing army, and in which he says he also had sympathized, he being at that time at Peekskill; 'but,' says he, 'on my arrival at the seat of war, I, of course, had better opportunities of observing and judging, and it gives me pleasure to say that I have altered my opinion, and am satisfied that all was done that was possible to prevent that catastrophe, and that General Schuyler was no way blamable.' I conceive this letter," Mr. Davis continues, "of immense importance in connection with Schuyler's military reputation; and completely refutes the charge of a want of capacity in his manner of conducting that campaign."

General Glover was one of the New England officers with Schuyler in the field, who so warmly expressed regret when he left the Northern Department. His letter is a specimen of the testimony given by many of the New England officers, who were well informed respecting Schuyler's military character. They did this in the face of

against him as a brave, skilful and judicious military commander was afterward heard during the remainder of his life, which was prolonged more than a quarter of a century from the time of his trial—a period of political tempests in which he was an active participant. He was regarded with affection and reverence by the people of his State as their saviour from the horrors of an invasion by civilized and savage men, who would have desolated the fairest portions of it but for General Schuyler's timely and continual exertions; and the whole country, so soon as his immense and patriotic labors were revealed, when truth had swept away from them the smoke of jealousy and detraction, honored him as the chief instrument in defeating the capital scheme of the British ministry for enslaving the colonies.

For more than sixty years after the death of General Schuyler the great importance of that patriot's public services in the Northern Department was never questioned. The late Chief Justice Kent, writing of him, said: "In

the prejudices of their sectional compatriots, and often suffered in consequence.

Among those who honorably defended General Schuyler was the Rev. Cotton Mather Smith, who was Chaplain of a Connecticut regiment. So soon as he was satisfied that the character of General Schuyler was unjustly attacked, he openly espoused his cause and endeavored to vindicate him, by which course he offended and alienated many of his own friends. Long years afterward, this generous conduct of Mr. Smith became known to General Schuyler, and the latter wrote to the former from New York (1795), saying: "If the legislature had continued its session at Poughkeepsie, I intended myself the pleasure of paying you a visit, personally to have conveyed those sentiments of esteem and affection with which I am deeply impressed for a character who generously interposed in my favor when calumny reigned triumphant. I could only be supported by men like you and an approving conscience."

In further testimony of his gratitude to Mr. Smith, General Schuyler sent him a quarter cask of wine.

acuteness of intellect, profound thought, indefatigable activity, exhaustless energy, pure patriotism, and persevering and intrepid public efforts, we had no superior."* And Daniel Webster said to his grandson upon a social occasion: "When a life of your grandfather is to be published I should like to write a preface. I was brought up with New England prejudices against him, but I consider him as second only to Washington in the services he rendered to the country in the war of the Revolution. His zeal and devotion to the cause, under difficulties which would have paralyzed the efforts of most men, and his fortitude and courage when assailed by malicious attacks upon his public and private character, *every one of which was proved to be false*, have impressed me with a strong desire to express publicly my sense of his great qualities."†

During the stormy period, in the political history of our country, when the elements of conflicting opinion crystallized into the shapes of the Federal and Republican parties, and the warfare (in which Schuyler actively engaged) was carried on with a bitterness of personal feeling now almost inconceivable, not one of the rumors against his reputation started during the war was mentioned. The slanders had all been so amply refuted that they seemed no longer to occupy a place in men's minds. His eminent public services in the campaign of 1777, and his courage and ability were never questioned until a distinguished historian, strangely misreading, it seems to me, the correspondence of the General at that time, and as strangely misconceiving the nature of his efforts, came to

* American Portrait Gallery.

† See "Correspondence and Remarks upon Bancroft's History of the Northern Campaign of 1777, and the Character of General Schuyler." By GEORGE L. SCHUYLER, page 25.

the conclusion that he was an incapable coward, and wrote as follows in a rapid review of those services :*

"Meantime, the British were never harried by the troops with Schuyler,† against whom public opinion was rising. Men reasoned rightly, that, if Ticonderoga was untenable, he should have known it, and given timely orders for its evacuation, instead of which he had been heaping up stores there to the last.‡ To screen his popularity, he insisted that the retreat was made without the least hint from himself, and was 'ill-judged and not warranted from necessity.' With manly frankness Saint Clair assumed the sole responsibility of the praiseworthy act which saved to the country many of its bravest defenders.§

"Schuyler owed his place to his social position, not to military talents. Anxious, and suspected of a want of personal courage, he found everything go ill under his command. To the Continental troops of Saint Clair, who were suffering from the loss of their clothes and tents, he was unable to restore confidence ; nor could he rouse the people.‖ The choice for governor of New York fell on George Clin-

* Bancroft's History of the United States, chapter xxi. volume ix.

† This assertion seems very strange in the light of historical facts and the information in the hands of the historian when he wrote, for he had all of the Letter Books of General Schuyler, and the mass of letters written to him, in his possession when he prepared these disparaging remarks.

The reader who may have perused the records of this campaign in the Northern Department, in the few preceding chapters of this volume, cannot fail to perceive the injustice of the reflections upon the character of General Schuyler, indulged in by Mr. Bancroft, and comments upon them might appear unnecessary. A few notes seem to be called for.

‡ See his vindication in his quoted correspondence and at his trial.

§ General Schuyler, on no occasion (and particularly on this occasion), ever attempted to "screen his popularity," or, as he is charged in another place (page 361), felt "a dread of clamor, shirking the responsibility of giving definite instructions." On the contrary, he was ever unmindful of popularity, so long as he believed his conduct to be right ; and instead of St. Clair assuming all the responsibility, it was shared with all the general officers who were with him, according to their letter to General Schuyler, mentioned on page 240.

‖ I have nowhere found a shadow of a foundation for this assertion. He was never suspected of a want of personal courage excepting by those persons who had been deceived by the falsehoods of his enemies, as the writer ought to have known.

ton. 'His character,' said Washington to the Council of Safety, 'will make him peculiarly useful at the head of your State.' Schuyler wrote: 'His family and connections do not entitle him to so distinguished a preëminence.'* The aid of Vermont was needed; Schuyler would never address its Secretary except in his 'private capacity.'† There could be no hope of a successful campaign, but with the hearty coöperation of New England; yet Schuyler gave leave for one half of its militia to go home at once, and the rest to follow in three weeks,‡ and then called upon Washington to supply their places by troops from the south of the Hudson River, saying to his friends that one Southern soldier was worth two from New England.§

"On the twenty-second, long before Burgoyne was ready to advance, Schuyler retreated to a position four miles below Fort Edward.‖ Here again he complained of his 'exposure to immediate ruin.' His friends urged him to silence the growing suspicion of his cowardice;¶

* The historian gives no authority for this statement. The known cordial relations, political and personal, which existed between Schuyler and Clinton at that time, make it seem improbable that he made such an assertion. It might have been made in some letter written *to* Schuyler.

† The reason for this punctilio is given in a note on page 186 of this volume, and fully justifies General Schuyler. The reason is also given by Mr. Bancroft, on page 360, volume ix.

‡ This, in the light of facts revealed by General Schuyler in his letters, from which quotations have been made on pages 242, 256 and others of this volume, seems to be a most ungenerous reflection.

§ In none of his letters to Washington, asking for reinforcements, have I found Schuyler intimating any such desire. No wish for a substitution of troops "from the south of Hudson's River" is anywhere expressed in his official letters; nor do I find any allusion to the comparative value of soldiers from different sections.

‖ According to the Journal of General Riedesel, Burgoyne was *then* "ready to advance," and on that very day ordered General Fraser to move on to Fort Edward. Two days later General Riedesel was ordered forward, and on the 26th, according to Schuyler's letter, Fraser's troops and Indians attacked pickets at Fort Edward. Five days later still, Burgoyne made his head-quarters at Fort Edward.

¶ "From the nature of your department and other unavoidable causes," William Duer wrote to Schuyler on the 29th of July, "you have not, during the course of this war, had an opportunity of evincing that spirit which I and your more intimate friends know you to possess. Of this circumstance prejudice takes a cruel advantage, and malice lends an easy ear to her dictates. You will not, I am sure, see

he answered: "If there is a battle I shall certainly expose myself more than is prudent."* To the New York Council of Safety he wrote on the twenty-fourth: "I mean to dispute every inch of ground with Burgoyne, and retard his descent as long as possible;" and in less than a week, without disputing anything, he retreated to Saratoga, having his heart set on a position at the juncture of the Mohawk and Hudson. The courage of the commander being gone, his officers and his army became spiritless; and, as his only resource, he solicited aid from Washington with unreasoning importunity.†

this place till your conduct gives the lie to this insinuation, as it has done before to every other which your enemies have so industriously circulated." This was written on the day when Congress ordered an investigation concerning the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and the faction opposed to Schuyler were filling the ears of the members of that body with insinuations of his cowardice and treason, and threatening what was done four days later, namely, an order for him to repair to Philadelphia. This is the foundation of the historian's remark.

* This was not said in reply to any such letter from his friends. In a letter to John Jay, Schuyler, after mentioning that the enemy had appeared near Fort Edward; that a battle seemed imminent, and that, in consequence of the feebleness of his own force, he should avoid one, if necessary, he said: "It is not impossible but it may take place, and as the fate of every person engaged in it is uncertain, as I shall certainly be there, and in order to inspirit my troops shall expose myself more than it is prudent for a commanding officer to do, I may possibly get rid of the cares of life, or fall into their hands." It will be seen that the historian, in quoting only a part of the sentence, has given it an aspect entirely different from what it bears with its context.

† This sentence, like that quoted in the last note before this, the historian has wrested from its context, and thereby it is made to assume an aspect entirely different from what it wears in the original. The whole sentence reads as follows, and is the summing up after a statement of the forlorn condition of his army: "Should it be asked what line of conduct I mean to hold amidst this variety of difficulties and distress, I would answer, to dispute every inch of ground with General Burgoyne and retard his descent into the country as long as possible, *without the least hopes of being able to prevent it ultimately, unless I am reinforced from General Washington, or by a respectable body of militia.*" This letter is quoted entire on page 242 of this volume. The unfairness of the historian in omitting that part of the sentence which I have put in italics, is very apparent; and the insinuation that General Schuyler was a boaster and a coward seems cruel in the extreme. By such a suppression of a part of a sentence it may

After alluding to the few reinforcements which Washington had sent to the Northern Department, and the anxiety of the Commander-in-chief, Mr. Bancroft writes: "Alarmed by Schuyler's want of fortitude, he ordered to the north Arnold, who was fearless, and Lincoln, who was acceptable to the militia of the Eastern States. At the same time, he bade Schuyler 'never despair.'"* Commenting upon Washington's hopefulness, he says: "All this while Schuyler continued to despond;"† and then, quoting a part of a sentence of a letter in which that general alluded to the possibility of Burgoyne's reaching Albany, he says: "The next day, flying from a shadow cast before him, he moved his army to the first island in the mouth of the Mohawk river. He pitied the man who should succeed him, and accepted the applause of his admirers at Albany for the wisdom of his safe retreat."‡

be easily proven that Washington was a traitor to his country. The reader who may peruse the whole of Schuyler's letter from which this part of a sentence has been wrested in support of cruel insinuations will perceive, too, that the General's urgent calls for reinforcements were not made with "unreasoning importunity." His army was in a most critical situation.

* Schuyler asked Washington to send him an efficient and spirited brigadier, to help him mould raw militia into soldiers; and, instead of being alarmed by the general "want of fortitude," he simply complied with his request. See pages 232 and 233 of this volume.

† For remarks upon this point, see page 242 of this volume.

‡ The historian omits to mention the important fact that this movement to the Mohawk was in accordance with the unanimous vote of his general officers, in a council of war. See page 256 of this volume. See, also, page 309 for the context of the letter in which he expressed his pity for the man who should succeed him. Instead of the addressors of General Schuyler, here alluded to, being his "admirers at Albany," a large number of them were refugees from their estates and homes on the upper Hudson, then occupied by Burgoyne, and were not likely to be the "admirers" of any man whom they (the best judges) had reasons for believing was an imbecile or a coward.

A little further on he accuses Schuyler of bringing upon Stark "the censure of Congress" for disobedience,* and then says that "on the first of August, it [Congress] relieved Schuyler from the command by an almost unanimous vote, and, on the fourth, eleven States elected Gates his successor.† Before he assumed command, Fort Stanwix [Schuyler] was safe, and the victory of Bennington achieved; yet it hastened to vote him [Gates] all the power and all the aid which Schuyler, in his moods of despondency, had entreated."‡

Commenting upon this portion of our national history, an unprejudiced, acute and thoroughly-informed biographer and historian, after speaking of the unfounded prejudice against Schuyler, and his own bluntness of expression sometimes in his correspondence, says:

"As a gentleman of strong and cultivated mind, integrity, honor, and public spirit, none stood higher in his own State, or possessed more entirely the confidence of his co-patriots. * * * Now and then, he incautiously disturbed the nerves of Congress by the tenor of his letters. A friend writes to him from that body: 'You know Congress, like a hysteric woman, wants cordials. Write truths, without making any reflections of your own.' Some of his letters to the Legislature of Massachusetts assumed a tone but little calculated to allay jealousies or gain friends.§ This was impolitic, but it would in no

* Instead of bringing the censures of Congress upon Stark, General Schuyler (see letter to Lincoln, on page 263 of this volume) sympathized with him, and laid his case favorably before Congress.

† This was done on the receipt of Washington's letter, declining to make any appointment. See page 307 of this volume.

‡ This is true. Schuyler, by his wisdom and energy, had so disputed Burgoyne's advance, at every inch, with a handful of Continentals and militia, that he rendered the victories at Fort Stanwix [Schuyler] and at Bennington possible; and, had Congress been as prodigal of its help for Schuyler as it was now for Gates, the battle with Burgoyne would have been fought much earlier, and far above Saratoga. If the faction in Congress who formed Gates' friends in that body had not induced a withholding of aid from Schuyler, Burgoyne would never have visited Ticonderoga.

degree justify the ill-treatment he received as a public man, and especially so abrupt a dismissal from a command which he had, up to that moment, conducted with all the energy, address and ability that it was possible for any officer to exercise under the same circumstances. His plans were well laid, and the crown of victory was clearly within his reach, when another stepped into his place, who, to secure the prize, had only to stand still and wait the onward tide of events. General Gates was successful where it would have been impossible for any man, with a particle of prudence, to fail. Fortune was his friend, and to her caprices, more than to all other causes combined, he was indebted for the glory he acquired in gathering the laurels of Saratoga."*

I have devoted much space to the vindication of General Schuyler's character, because Mr. Bancroft's "History of the United States" is regarded by the great public as a standard authority, and his opinions may be adopted as correct by a large number of our countrymen. At the risk of a disturbance of our pleasant personal relations, extending over many years, I must, in loyalty to the duty of a faithful biographer and historian, pronounce his use of parts of sentences, without their contexts, in support of his views, unfair, and his estimate of the military character of General Schuyler unwarranted by any facts known to me in that gentleman's career. With a judgment formed by the clear and ample testimony before me, I do not hesitate to say that in the course of my reading I have never seen, in the same number of pages, so many positive errors as appear in Mr. Bancroft's brief review of the career of General Schuyler in the campaign of 1777, up to the time when he was superseded by General Gates. If any weight is to be given to the decisions of tribunals and the opinions expressed by State or National legislatures and the public in the form of favorable resolutions, and votes for offices of trust and responsibility, as well as to the settled convic-

* JARED SPARKS, LL. D., in his "Life of Gouverneur Morris," i. 148.

tions of the people for almost three-fourths of a century, we must believe that the historian has, in this case, misinterpreted the acts of the patriot and statesman, for it cannot be supposed that an officer upon whom rested the shadow of a suspicion of cowardice would be requested by six general officers to remain with them after being deprived of his command, or that he would not have been allowed to retire from the army with the consent of Congress full eighteen months after he was dismissed from that command; or that General Washington would express a strong desire that he should resume that command.

Such was the experience of General Schuyler. On the 27th of December, 1778, he wrote to Congress, expressing a wish to resign. A motion was made, on the 4th of January following, that his resignation be accepted, when it was amended by a resolution that prevailed, "That the further consideration thereof be postponed." Meanwhile, he had received the following letter from General Washington, dated Philadelphia, 31st December, 1778:

"DEAR SIR:—In a letter which I had the pleasure of writing you on the 18th inst., I requested you to take the direction of the magazines that were to be prepared toward a certain expedition. I should have extended the idea to your taking the full command in the Northern Department, but I was restrained by a doubt how far the measure might be agreeable to your own views and intentions. The same doubt still remains; but as it is very much my desire you should resume that command, I take occasion to signify it to you. At the same time, if you have any material objections against it, I would not wish to preclude their operation. If you have not, you will be pleased to consider this as an order for the purpose. As you are fully acquainted with all the objects of the command, it is unnecessary to enter into a detail of particular instructions."

General Schuyler declined the honor, and, on the 5th of March following, again asked Congress to accept his resignation. His letter containing this request was not

acted upon until the 18th, when a motion was made by Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts,* seconded by Mr. Dyer, of Connecticut, that the resignation of General Schuyler be accepted. Mr. Burke, of South Carolina, offered the following, as an amendment:

"*Resolved*, That the President be directed to inform General Schuyler that Congress are very desirous of retaining him in the service, especially in the present situation of affairs; but if the state of his health is such as that he judges it absolutely necessary to retire, Congress, though reluctantly, will acquiesce, and admit his resignation."

This amendment was rejected by eleven of the twelve States represented, to give place to the following resolution, offered by Mr. Smith, of Virginia:

"*Resolved*, That the President be directed to acquaint Major-General Schuyler that the situation of the army renders it inconvenient to accept his resignation, and, therefore, Congress cannot comply with his request."

This was carried, against the votes of New England and Pennsylvania, and South Carolina divided. But General Schuyler persisted in his request to resign, and on the 19th of April, 1779, it was, on motion of Samuel Adams, seconded by Mr. Witherspoon, of New Jersey, "*Resolved*, That his request be complied with."

So ended the military career of General Schuyler. We have anticipated some of the events in that career, for an obvious purpose. In reviewing it in the presence of minute evidence, it presents many remarkable points; none brilliant with the corruscations of exciting scenes, such as the details of a great battle, but all of them important in the formation of a rounded whole which challenges our profound admiration. If the reader shall have carefully studied those events as they have been herein narrated, observed their relations to the history of that trying

* See page 99. of this volume.

period in the war, and considered the lack of resources of every kind which continually tended to frustrate the efforts of General Schuyler, and then compared his career with that of any commander in that or any other war in which the Americans have been engaged, it must have been perceived that for persistence in effort, marvellous industry, skill in management, watchfulness, wise forethought, clear foresight, heroic endurance of bodily pain and assaults upon reputation, unswerving personal courage under the most trying exigencies, unselfish patriotism, fortitude under the most depressing circumstances, and the accomplishment of great ends, he stands unrivalled, and may justly claim a place among the great military commanders of his time. The greatness of such commanders does not wholly consist in the skilful movements of vast armies in person, the conduct of great battles and the achievement of great victories by brute force, for in these he may have assistants as able as himself. It consists chiefly in the accomplishment of the great end by forethought which provides means, by the right distribution of force, by the careful husbanding of resources, in the wise direction of movements, small and great, at the proper time, in a courage to take responsibilities and power to achieve thereby; in a word, to be the centre and controller of forces employed in the successful management of every operation of a campaign, in spite of great obstacles.

Such, it seems to me, was General Schuyler in his incessant warfare, for almost two years, with British regulars, Canadian partisans, German hirelings, a cloud of savages on the near frontier, and a host of loyalists and personal enemies, open and secret, all about him; with an army money-chest and commissariat usually empty; the

credit of his government below his own; an insubordinate army; and jealous men, in and out of power, assailing his character and casting impediments in his way. He was a hero and patriot, in the highest sense of these words.

CHAPTER XIX.

The incompetency of Congress at this time to meet the exigencies of the military service was apparent to thinking men, who deplored its weakness. It was divided by cabals and sectional factions, the fruit of a system of politics then having a vigorous growth in and out of Congress, founded on the paramount sovereignty of the several States, which is now known as State Supremacy. It, in a degree, through the earnest endeavors of Washington to unite all the forces in one Continental army, at one time threatened serious disaster. In the face of his warnings they remodelled, at the middle of the campaign, the commissary department in a manner that defied all unity of action, and great confusion ensued; and in lavishing their favors on Gates that he might be sure of success, Washington was made to feel that he was only the peer of that ambitious general, and not his commander, until Congress, perceiving their own folly, declared that "they never intended to supersede or circumscribe his (the Commander-in-chief's) powers."

Washington tried to destroy State distinctions in the army, while Congress fostered them; and in their attempts to overthrow and ruin General Schuyler, they showed how perniciously that sentiment might work, even to the withholding of troops from service at a most critical time. They commissioned every foreign adventurer, and so they

filled the army with incompetents whom they had not the vigor to expel when they were found to be such. These were generally ambitious men full of the fire of the large European armies, and could not brook the cautious movements of the Americans, forgetful of the fact that the latter had no men to spare. They so impressed upon Congress a sense of the necessity of more vigorous and aggressive movements that John Adams was induced to write: "I wish the Continental army would prove that anything can be done. I am weary with so much insipidity; I am sick of Fabian systems. My toast is, A short and violent war." He could also write that "the army under Washington is more numerous by several thousands than Howe's whole force," when it was several thousands less; for Howe had nearly eighteen thousand men with him, and all thoroughly disciplined.* "Congress never exacted more from Washington, or gave him less support."†

At the time we are considering, the country needed all possible unity of action, for Howe was threatening Philadelphia, and Burgoyne was menacing Albany. Washington made an earnest appeal to the Eastern States, to swell the army of Gates. He was seconded by the New England delegation in Congress. Thousands of men at once began to move toward his camp from Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Overriding Washington's advice, Congress gave to Schuyler's successor unrestricted power to make requisitions for militia, on New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; and a corps of picked troops, five hun-

* "I was left to fight two battles," Washington wrote to Patrick Henry on the 13th of November, "in order, if possible, to save Philadelphia, with less numbers than composed my antagonist, while the world has given us at least double."

† Bancroft's History of the United States, ix. 393.

dred in number, whom Washington had called from the army and formed into a rifle corps, under Colonel Daniel Morgan, as skirmishers, Congress sent to Gates to fight the Indians in Burgoyne's army. In every way the hands of Gates were strengthened, and he speedily bore the laurels of a victor.

Gates opened the campaign against Burgoyne with a foolish and unjust tirade from his pen. That officer wrote a letter to Gates, complaining of harsh treatment experienced by Tory prisoners captured at Bennington. It was couched in gentle terms. "Duty and principle," he said, "made me a public enemy to the Americans who have taken up arms; but I seek to be a generous one; nor have I the shadow of resentment against any individual who does not induce it by acts derogatory to those maxims upon which all men of honor think alike."

To this Gates retorted: "That the savages should, in their warfare, mangle the unhappy prisoners who fall into their hands, is neither new nor extraordinary; but that the famous General Burgoyne, in whom the fine gentleman is united with the scholar, should hire the savages of America to scalp Europeans; nay more, that he should pay a price for each scalp so barbarously taken, is more than will be believed in Europe, until authenticated facts shall in every gazette confirm the horrid tale." Then, in a grandiloquent style, he recited the story of Jane McCrea, alleging that her murderers were employed by Burgoyne, and declaring that more than one hundred men, women and children had perished by the hands of the ruffians "to whom, it is asserted," he said, "you have paid the price of blood."

To these charges Burgoyne made a dignified, and no

doubt truthful, reply, denying Gates' allegations so far as he was personally concerned in Indian atrocities, and said that in the case of Miss McCrea the act was as sincerely lamented by him as it could be by the tenderest of her friends. "I would not be conscious of the acts you presume to impute to me," he said, "for the whole continent of America, though the wealth of worlds was in its bowels and a paradise upon its surface."

Gates evidently thought he had made a great literary achievement. He called General Lincoln and Colonel Wilkinson into his apartment, and showed them the letter, and when they suggested that it was too personal, he said bluntly: "By God! I don't believe either of you can mend it,"* and sent it away uncorrected.

Let us turn from these mere personal matters to events of greater moment.

Early in September Gates found himself in command of an army stronger in number than Burgoyne's whole force. He left the mouth of the Mohawk and moved up to Stillwater; and upon Bemis' Heights, at a narrow part of the Hudson Valley, he established a fortified camp. He was so confident of success that he sent out no harassing parties, and as a dense forest stood between him and his antagonist at the mouth of the Batten Kill, he had only vague information concerning Burgoyne's movements. These were carried on secretly in preparations for an advance. Across the country from Lake George, a month's provisions for his army was brought, and all his forces from Skenesborough, Fort Anne and Fort George were drawn to the main army. He constructed a floating bridge across the Hudson, at Saratoga, for the passage of

* Wilkinson's Memoirs, i. 231.

his troops. These paraded without the beat of drum, and his evening guns no longer broke the silence of the woods and hills.

On the 11th of September a rumor reached the American camp that Burgoyne was in motion, and it was reported that, in a speech to his soldiers, he had told them that the fleet had returned to Canada, and their only safety was to fight their way to New York. Rumor spoke the truth. He was prepared to move forward, and risk a battle. Lord Germain had censured Carleton because he would "hazard nothing with his troops." Burgoyne found that necessity compelled him to hazard everything. His officers were disposed to retreat; so he did not consult them; and, on the 11th of September, he surprised them with this order: "The army will be ready to move forward to-morrow morning." The next day was consumed in perfecting arrangements for the movement, and on the 13th and 14th the whole army slowly crossed the Hudson River, over a bridge of boats, and encamped near Fish Creek, at Saratoga, with positive orders from the commander that no soldier should pass that stream.

Meanwhile, Lieut.-col. Colburn had been sent out from the American camp to the high hills east of the Hudson, with a small party, to watch the movements of the enemy from the tops of trees, and send word regularly to Gates. This he did most faithfully. At the same time, orders were sent to Lincoln, stationed at Manchester, in Vermont, to make a movement in Burgoyne's rear. He accordingly sent out two thousand men to attack the forts on Lake Champlain. A part of these, under Colonel John Brown, a brave officer from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, who had already done excellent service, surprised the garrison at

the foot of Lake George, captured a vessel carrying provisions for the enemy, seized the post at the falls of the outlet of Lake George, took possession of both Mount Hope and Mount Defiance, with the French lines, and demanded the surrender of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. He destroyed fifty boats above the falls, and one hundred and fifty below them, including seventeen gun-boats and an armed sloop, and captured two hundred and eighty-nine prisoners and five cannons.* The fortress of Ticonderoga was too strong for him, and he abandoned it, and rejoined Lincoln.

Burgoyne had slowly advanced. On the 15th he moved from Saratoga, but was so detained by the repairing of roads and bridges which Schuyler had broken up, that it was the 18th before he reached a point now known as Wilbur's Basin, within two miles of the American camp. He had with him a great train of field artillery, eighty-five baggage-wagons, and two ponderous twenty-four-pounders. A body of light troops, new levies and Indians, the latter painted and decorated for war, were sent into the deep forest, toward Saratoga Lake; and there was every indication of an intention to bring on a battle speedily. All this Lieut.-colonel Colburn had seen; and when the enemy had marched two miles from Saratoga, he descended from the eastern heights, and hastened to camp with the information.

Burgoyne was now confronted with a line of breastworks cast up under the direction of Colonel Thaddeus Kosciusko, the eminent Polander, extending from the Hudson River westward, over the ridge known as Bemis'

* Autograph Letter of Colonel Brown to General Lincoln, September 18, 1777.

Heights. These were well manned and armed, for Gates was now liberally supplied with artillery. Burgoyne perceived that he must either stand still, make a disastrous retreat, or fight. He chose the latter alternative.

Meanwhile Schuyler had returned to Albany. He found Gates disposed to slight his offers of aid, but he there engaged, with hearty zeal, in measures for promoting the success of the campaign. He was chiefly employed in keeping the Six Nations to their promised neutrality, and in winning some of the Tuscaroras and Onondagas to the side of the Americans. He held "talks" and feasts with them, and engaged some of the Oneidas to go to Gates' camp, and act as scouts, in which service they were very useful.

A former aide-de-camp of General Schuyler, Colonel Henry B. Livingston, and his secretary, Colonel Varick, were in camp, and kept him continually informed of every important movement there. The former was then the aide-de-camp of General Arnold, who, since his return from the relief of Fort Schuyler, had been placed in command of the left wing of the army. Varick was also much of the time with Arnold; and these young men, the known warm friends of Schuyler, excited the jealousy of Gates and a suspicion that they were prejudicing the mind of Arnold against him. They loved Schuyler, but were above such mean intrigues. Colonel Varick could write to his friend, when it was rumored that Burgoyne was about to advance: "I should bless my stars, and think myself completely happy, were you at the head of this army;"* and Colonel Livingston could write: "Burgoyne is in such a situation that he can neither advance nor retire without

* Autograph Letter, September 12, 1777.

fighting. A capital battle must soon be fought. I am chagrined to the soul when I think that another person will reap the fruit of your labors."* But these expressions of affection were not incompatible with the strictest requirements of honor, yet Gates allowed his suspicions to cause him to treat Arnold with a coolness which, as we shall observe, resulted in open rupture.

The American intrenchments extended along a line about three-fourths of a mile in extent, and had redoubts and batteries which commanded the narrow valley of the Hudson, and the hills beyond, on the eastern side. From the foot of the abrupt height an intrenchment extended across the narrow flat to the river, ending with a battery at the edge of the water, which commanded a floating bridge.

The right wing of the army was under the immediate command of Gates, and occupied the brow of the hill, overlooking the river. It was composed of the brigades of Glover, Nixon and Patterson. These were New England and New Jersey troops. The left wing was commanded by Arnold, and occupied the western portion of the line. It was distant from the river about three-fourths of a mile. It was composed of the New Hampshire brigade of General Enoch Poor, consisting of the regiments of Cilley, Scammel and Hale; the New York militia regiments of Pierre Van Cortlandt and Henry Livingston; two Connecticut militia regiments, under Latimer and Cook; and Massachusetts infantry, commanded by Major Henry Dearborn. The centre was composed of Massachusetts and New York Continental troops, and consisted of Learned's brigade, with Bailey's, Wesson's and Jackson's

* Autograph Letter, September 18, 1777.

regiments, of the former State, and James Livingston's, of New York.

Burgoyne formed his army into three columns, early on the morning of the 19th of September, preparatory to an immediate advance. The first or centre column consisted of the 9th, 20th, 21st and 62d regiments, with six six-pounders, led by Brigadier-general Hamilton; the second or right column, composed of the English grenadiers and light infantry, the 24th Brunswick grenadiers, and the light battalion, with eight six-pounders, under Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, was led by General Fraser; and the third or left column consisted of the German troops and the artillery of the left wing, and was commanded by General the Baron de Riedesel, assisted by Major-general Phillips, who was Burgoyne's second in command. The heavy artillery and baggage were with this column, whose route lay along the road through the meadows on the margin of the river, while the rest of the army had to make their way through the forest. The front and flanks of the British army were covered by Indians, Canadians, and a small corps of loyalists.

Burgoyne's troops had slept on their arms several nights in expectation of a general attack from the Americans, for Arnold, with fifteen hundred men, annoyed them continually by boldly attacking their superior numbers engaged in repairing roads and bridges. With these he skirmished successfully and made several prisoners. At the same time Gates' army was threatened with depletion by the determination of the New Hampshire militia to return home. He was not so personally popular with them as was Schuyler, and he was compelled to try to hold them until the arrival of General Stark, their commander—

who had been left behind on the way on account of illness—by offering each man a bounty of ten dollars to stay till "Burgoyne was beaten or had run away." They refused to accept the offer, but the influence of Stark, who arrived on the evening of the 15th, "induced them to do what a sense of honor and duty could not."*

Both armies were ready for battle on Friday morning, the 19th of September. Gates had resolved to act on the defensive, within his lines. He could trust neither himself nor his best commanders, in taking the initiative. He "had no fitness for command, and wanted personal courage,"† says Bancroft. He had offended Arnold by his coldness and indifference because he was Schuyler's friend; and Arnold was passionate, quarrelsome and insubordinate. But the patriotism of the army was untouched and unmoved by these personalities, and they were ready to meet the foe, who at the same time had resolved to attack the American lines.

At eleven o'clock the booming of a heavy gun at the centre of the British lines awoke solemn echoes from the hills. It was the signal for the advance-guard of the three columns to move forward. The glitter of bayonets, the gleam of sabres, and the flashing of scarlet uniforms had been seen through the vistas of the woods at an early hour, as the British troops marched and countermarched in forming their lines; and these movements were regularly reported to Gates, yet he gave no orders and evinced no

* Autograph Letter of Colonel H. B. Livingston to General Schuyler, September 16, 1777. On the same day Livingston got into a quarrel with Major Chester, of Arnold's staff, and at evening they fought a duel with pistols without any serious result.—Autograph Letter of Colonel Morgan Lewis, September 17, 1777.

† History of the United States, ix. 407.

disposition to fight. Even when informed that the enemy were advancing in great force, right, left and centre, he seemed almost indifferent. His officers grew impatient. Arnold, who was apprised of all the movements of the enemy, was as restive as a hound in the leash. His opinion, earnestly and repeatedly expressed to his commander during the morning, that a detachment should be sent out to make an attack, was at length heeded, and at about noon, when Burgoyne had well advanced and gained advantages, Arnold was permitted to send out Morgan with his riflemen and Dearborn with his infantry to assail the Canadians and Indians, who had been sent in advance of Burgoyne's right, and were swarming upon the hills. The detachment fell upon these most vigorously and drove them back. Morgan's men pursued them so eagerly that the riflemen became scattered and weakened, and a reinforcement of loyalists, under Major Forbes, in turn drove the pursuers. For a moment Morgan thought his corps was ruined; but his loud and familiar signal-whistle soon drew his men around him, and, seconded by Dearborn and some New Hampshire troops under Cilley and Scammel, they repeated the charge. After a short fight both parties quietly withdrew to their respective lines. The Americans had lost twenty-two men made prisoners.

At about the same time a party of Canadians, savages and Tories, were detached through the woods along the margin of the flats near the river, where they were met by American pickets, beaten and dispersed, with nearly fifty men killed or made prisoners. Meanwhile Burgoyne was making rapid movements for the purpose of falling heavily upon the Americans' left and centre. Fraser, on his commander's extreme right, with his English grenadiers, made

a quick movement for the purpose of turning the American left flank. The vigilant and impetuous Arnold was making an equally rapid movement to turn the British right, and might have done so had Gates not denied him reinforcements, and done everything in his power to restrain him.

Each party was moving blindly, for the forest was so dense that neither had much knowledge of the other's movements, and they suddenly and unexpectedly met in a ravine west of Freeman's farm-house, near which Burgoyne had then halted. It was on the borders of Mill Creek. For a while they fought desperately. Arnold encouraged his troops by voice and action, but he was forced back, when Fraser, by a quick movement, attacked the right wing of the American line and called up from the British centre the 24th regiment of Brunswick grenadiers, some light infantry and Breyman's riflemen to his aid.

In the meantime Arnold had rallied his men, and had been reinforced by troops under Brooks, Scammel, Cilley and Majors Dearborn and Hull. With these he smote the British so lustily that their line began to waver and fall into confusion, when General Phillips, hearing the din of battle from his position below the heights, hurried over the hills through the thick woods with fresh troops and some artillery, followed by a portion of the Germans under Riedesel, and appeared upon the ground at the moment when victory seemed about to be awarded to the Americans. But even these reinforcements could not make the Republicans yield, and they were fearfully thinning the British regiments, when Riedesel made a furious attack upon the flank of the Americans with cannon and musketry, and so compelled them to give way.

The Germans, by this timely movement, saved the British army from ruin.

The conflict now ceased for a little while, but the quiet was only a lull before a more furious outburst of the tempest of battle. Each army took breath and gathered up its energies for a more desperate conflict. Each rested upon a gentle hill, the Americans sheltered by an intervening wood, and the British resting in an open pine forest.

Burgoyne again opened the battle by a heavy cannonade, to which the Americans made no reply. The British commander then ordered a bayonet charge, when instantly column after column of infantry was seen moving across the cleared ground toward the American lines. The latter kept silent until their enemies fired a volley and rushed forward to the charge, when they sprang upon their assailants with such fury that the British were driven back far across the clearing. Arnold was then at headquarters begging in vain for reinforcements, when an officer came with the intelligence that the battle was raging without any decisive results. Arnold's impatience could brook no further delay. "I will soon put an end to it," he exclaimed, and set off at full gallop, followed by an officer sent by Gates to order him back. That subaltern could not overtake the general, who soon gave fresh courage to his troops by example. Backward and forward, over the open field, now advancing and now retreating—ebbing and flowing like the restless tide—the combatants struggled for full three hours, until darkness fell upon the scene, and Colonel Breyman had defeated an almost successful attempt to turn the British right. Then the great conflict ceased. There was occasional skirmish-

ing during the evening, and it was almost midnight when all became still, the Americans quietly slumbering within their lines, and the British sleeping upon their arms on the battle-field, the possessors, if not the masters, of it.

The Americans lost in killed, wounded and missing, three hundred and nineteen men. Among them was the brave Lieutenant-colonel Andrew Colburn, of New Hampshire, already mentioned. The British loss exceeded six hundred men, with the prestige of past successes. Their army was seriously crippled. One regiment which left Canada five hundred strong was reduced to sixty men and four or five officers. The sharpshooters of Morgan's rifle corps dismayed the Indians, and they had no stomach for more fight.

Twice during that eventful day the Germans had saved the British army, and for their deeds the generous Fraser gave them unstinted praise. But Burgoyne withheld the honor; and one of the earliest and most reliable of the British historians of the war (Stedman) makes no mention of Riedesel and his timely flank movement.*

Bnt for Arnold, on that eventful day, Burgoyne would doubtless have marched into Albany at the autumnal equinox, a victor. The battle was fought wholly by detachments from Arnold's division, excepting one regiment from another brigade;† and to his skill and daring,

* "General Burgoyne and a few other English commanders regarded the German general with secret envy. Indeed they would gladly have passed over his merits had such a thing been possible. British pride did not desire the acknowledgment of bravery other than their own."—Memoirs of Major-general Riedesel, i. 151.

† This was the Tenth Massachusetts, a very feeble regiment, led by Lieutenant-colonel Marshall, who was sent out just at dusk, and had a brief encounter. This was all that was detached from the right wing during the engagment.

which animated his troops, was chiefly due the credit of successfully resisting the invaders at Bemis' Heights. Had he been seconded by his commander, and strengthened by reinforcements, instead of merely making resistance and checking the further progress of Burgoyne toward Albany, he would doubtless have secured a complete victory. Colonel Varick, in a letter to General Schuyler, written from the camp three days after the battle, said: "Gates seemed to be piqued that Arnold's division had the honor of beating the enemy on the 19th. This I am certain of, that Arnold has all the credit of the action. And this I further know, that Gates asked where the troops were going, when Scammel's battalion marched out, and, upon being told, he declared no more troops should go; he would not suffer the camp to be exposed. Had Gates complied with Arnold's repeated desires, he would have obtained a general and complete victory over the enemy. But it is evident to me he never intended to fight Burgoyne till Arnold urged, begged, and entreated him to do it." The concurrent testimony of contemporaries plainly shows that Gates scarcely left his tent during the day of battle, and that therein he freely indulged in strong drink and in unbecoming remarks concerning officers of whom he was jealous.

The praises bestowed upon Arnold highly inflamed the jealousy of Gates, and he made it so apparent that he disgusted the general officers and others who perceived it. His coolness toward Arnold before the battle now changed to insulting and vexatious action. When, on the morning after the battle, Arnold urged him to renew it while the enemy was evidently disconcerted, he refused, with ill-natured words, not deigning to give a reason; and, in his de-

spatches to Congress, he did not even mention the names of Arnold and Morgan, but spoke of the battle having been fought "by detachments from the army."* He caused a part of Arnold's division to be withdrawn without his knowledge, so putting that officer in the ridiculous light of presuming to give orders which were immediately contravened by the general orders of the commander-in-chief of the department. Wilkinson, the adjutant-general, who was a supple sycophant in the hands of Gates, and who afterward actually tried to make it appear that Arnold was not in the action at all, insisted upon the returns of Morgan's corps being made to him, and in this he was sustained by Gates, in a general order, in which it was stated that Morgan's and Dearborn's corps belonged to his division.

Of this treatment Arnold justly complained, when Gates called his remonstrances presumptuous.

"In short," Colonel Livingston wrote to Schuyler, "he has pocketed many insults for the sake of his country, which a man of less pride would have resented. The repeated indignities which he has received at length roused his spirit, and determined him again to remonstrate. He waited on Mr. Gates, in person, last evening. Matters were altercated in a very high strain. Both were warm—the latter rather passionate, and very assuming. Toward the end of the debate, Mr. G. told Arnold he 'did not know of his being a major-general—he had sent his resignation to Congress. He had never given him the command of any division of the army. General Lincoln would be here in a day or two, and that then he should have no occasion for him, and would give him a pass to go to Philadelphia, whenever he chose.' Arnold's spirit would not brook the usage. He returned to his quarters, represented

* Gates had good reasons for not wishing to renew the battle that morning. His ammunition was exhausted, but he, alone, was aware of the deficiency. Had Burgoyne been aware of this, he might easily have won a victory on the 20th. The soldiers of the left wing, who had fought the day before, had each only a single cartridge left. There was not in the magazine forty rounds to each man in the service. But, on the 20th, a supply of powder, and window-leads for bullets, gathered by General Schuyler, came up from Albany.

what had passed, in a letter to Mr. G., and requested his permission to go to Philadelphia. The reason for the present disagreement between two old cronies is simply this—*Arnold is your friend.*"*

Gates very readily gave Arnold permission to go to Philadelphia. When the general officers and soldiers heard of it, they were greatly alarmed because of threatened consequences. They had lost confidence in Gates, and had the highest opinion of Arnold. "To induce him to stay," Colonel Livingston wrote, "General Poor proposed an address from the general officers and colonels of his division, returning him thanks for his past services, and particularly for his conduct during the late action, and requesting him to stay. The address was framed and consented to by Poor's officers. Those of General Learned refused. They acquiesced in the propriety of the measure, but were afraid of giving umbrage to General Gates."†

Finally, a letter was written to Arnold, signed by all the general officers, excepting Lincoln, urging him to remain, for another battle seemed imminent. This, too, seems to have been withheld for prudential reasons, but Arnold was apprised of the feelings of the army. His ire had somewhat cooled, and, upon reflection, he concluded to remain. But he and Gates were not upon speaking terms, for the former treated Arnold as a cipher, never calling him in consultation.‡ He took from him all command, and gave that of the left wing to General Lincoln.

Arnold was a passionate man, and blustered and fumed about the camp in an undignified manner, making threats, without having power to execute them. He finally wrote

* Autograph Letter, September 23, 1777.

† Autograph Letter, September 24, 1777.

‡ Autograph Letter from Colonel Varick, September 24, 1777.

an indignant letter to Gates (September 30), in which he said:

"Notwithstanding I have reason to think your treatment proceeds from a spirit of jealousy, and that I have everything to fear from the malice of my enemies, conscious of my innocence and integrity, I am determined to sacrifice my feelings, present peace and quiet, to the public good, and continue in the army at this critical juncture, when my country needs every support. I hope you will not impute this hint to a wish to command the army, or to outshine you, when I assure you it proceeds from a zeal for the cause of my country, in which I expect to rise or fall."

To this, Gates paid no attention.

General Schuyler was cautious in his correspondence with his friends in camp at this time. He wrote to Colonel Varick:

"I am pleased to hear that our gallant friend, General Arnold, has determined to remain until a battle shall have happened, or General Burgoyne retreats. Everybody that I have yet conversed with on the subject of the dispute between Gates and him, thinks Arnold has been extremely ill-treated. I wonder at Gates' policy. He will probably be indebted to him for the glory he may acquire by a victory; but perhaps he is so very sure of success that he does not wish the other to come in for a share of it."*

This conjecture of Schuyler concerning Arnold's future service to Gates, soon assumed the shape of a fulfilled prophecy.

* Autograph Letter, September 25, 1777.

CHAPTER XX.

The morning light of the 20th of September revealed to Burgoyne the desperate condition of his army—broken, disappointed, spiritless, and encumbered with a large number of wounded men. So urgent was his necessitv for preparations against an expected immediate attack that he buried his dead promiscuously in holes and trenches. He withdrew to the high ground near Freeman's house, within two miles of the American lines, and there cast up intrenchments. Hoping hourly for good news from Howe or Clinton, he harangued his troops, and declared that it was his determination to leave his body on the field or force his way to Albany.

On the following morning Burgoyne received a message from Clinton, at New York, promising a diversion in his favor by an expedition up the Hudson River. With this despatch also came information of Howe's success on the Brandywine, where, on the 11th of September, he routed the army under General Washington and caused its precipitate retreat toward Philadelphia. But Howe had lost the fruits of victory through his chronic indolence, for he did not pursue the flying republicans until they had at least twenty-four hours the start of him. But the prestige of victory was his.

The good news from below reanimated the hopes of Burgoyne, and he wrote to Clinton that he could maintain

his position until the 12th of October. Sir Henry had been waiting for reinforcements which had been slowly traversing the ocean in Dutch bottoms for almost three months. They had now arrived, and war-ships, armed galleys and flat-bottomed boats were speedily filled with between three and four thousand troops, professedly for a southern expedition, but really for a voyage and aggressive warfare up the Hudson River.

General Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, a veteran of the French and Indian war, was then in command of enfeebled garrisons in the Highlands. He had allowed most of the New York militia to go home on furlough, and when, at the close of September, Sir Henry Clinton was ready to move up the Hudson River with a strong force, Putnam had not more than two thousand men at Peekskill and at Forts Clinton, Montgomery and Constitution. British spies had found out this weakness, while, at the same time, the eyes of vigilant patriots had watched Sir Henry's movements, and these had been reported to Putnam. That officer, on the 29th of September, sent word to Governor Clinton, who had the immediate command of the Highland forts, and was then attending a session of the New York legislature at Kingston, that there was every indication of an immediate movement of the enemy up the river, and begged a reinforcement of militia to enable him to maintain his position at Peekskill. "The ships," he wrote, "are drawn up in the river, and I believe nothing prevents them from paying us an immediate visit but a contrary wind."

We have already observed that a strong boom and iron chain had been permanently laid across the Hudson at Fort Montgomery. Across Poplopen's Kill, southward of

this post and within rifle shot of it, was Fort Clinton, which had been erected to occupy ground which commanded the former. Across the Kill was a bridge communicating between the two forts. The head-quarters of the governor were at Fort Montgomery, and the other was commanded by his brother, General James Clinton. These two posts were garrisoned by about six hundred men, chiefly militia, with the veteran Colonel Lamb in command of the artillery. Just above the boom and chain, Continental vessels, built at Poughkeepsie, were stationed for the protection of the obstructions, by order of General Putnam and contrary to the advice of Governor Clinton.

On the 4th of October the armament of Sir Henry Clinton moved up the river, closely followed by watching swift-rowing whale-boatmen, landed troops at Tarrytown and marched a few miles into the country. Putnam believed Peekskill to be their destination, and immediately sent a courier to Governor Clinton with the intelligence, saying: "They are now, as we hear, making for Croton Bridge," just above the Van Cortlandt manor-house. The governor, more sagacious than the general, perceived that the movement was only a feint to draw off attention from the Highland forts, the real objects of attack, and immediately adjourned the legislature and hastened to Fort Montgomery with all the militia that he could gather on the way.

Meanwhile Sir Henry had returned to his shipping, sailed further up the river, and on Sunday, the 5th of October, landed four thousand troops on Verplanck's Point, eight miles below Peekskill. Putnam now felt sure that he was to be attacked, and so he withdrew to the hills in

the rear of Peekskill to await the expected assault, and sent to the governor, at Fort Montgomery, for all the troops he could spare.

So far Sir Henry's preconcerted plan for drawing Putnam's attention from the Highland forts by a feigned movement on Peekskill, and so allow the baronet to land troops on the west side of the river and march without impediment upon the forts, was successful. So also was the remainder of his plans. Under cover of a thick fog, at daybreak on the morning of the 6th of October, he crossed the Hudson to Stony Point, with a little more than two thousand men, leaving about one thousand, chiefly loyalists, at Verplanck's Point to keep up the aspect of menace toward Peekskill. At the same time the war-vessels, under the command of Commodore (afterward Admiral) Hotham, were ordered to anchor off Fort Independence, within cannon shot of the Highland forts, and play upon them and the vessels above the chain.

Piloted by a Tory, Sir Henry made a forced circuitous march from Stony Point around the southern and western bases of the Dunderberg, through rugged defiles, for several miles, and, at eight o'clock, in the pass between that height and Bear Mountain, his force was separated into two parties, in each of which were many Hessian hirelings. One division, composed of four hundred loyalists under Colonel Beverly Robinson, and five hundred British regulars and Hessians, were led by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and directed to go around Bear Mountain, and fall upon Fort Montgomery; while the other division, destined for Fort Clinton, and full twelve hundred in number, were led by General Vaughan, accompanied by Sir Henry. Ex-Governor Tryon was left in the valley, with a rear-guard.

Meanwhile, Governor Clinton, who, on Sunday evening, was informed of the landing of troops at Verplanck's Point, and who had brought to Fort Montgomery four hundred recruits, had sent out a reconnoitring party at dawn on Monday morning. Three miles south of the fort this party fell in with the British advance-guard. After a brief skirmish, they retreated to the fort, without loss, and reported the approach of the enemy, when Governor Clinton sent a messenger to Putnam for aid. The man turned traitor, and deserted to the British. Putnam, in the meantime, was astonished at hearing nothing from the enemy, who he supposed were about to attack him at Peekskill. He went out to reconnoitre in the afternoon, and did not return until firing was heard in the direction of the forts, and when, at the instance of Colonel Humphreys, reinforcements had been sent (though too late) from the camp at Continental Village, near Peekskill.

While Campbell was making his way around Bear Mountain, Vaughan and Clinton pressed toward their goal, along a way near the river. At a narrow pass, between Lake Sinnipink and the steep bank of the Hudson, they encountered an *abatis*, and there they had a severe fight with the Americans. These were pushed back, and at about four o'clock in the afternoon both posts were invested. At five, a demand for the surrender of Fort Clinton was made, and scornfully refused, when a simultaneous assault upon both fortresses was made by the troops and the vessels of war in the river.*

The garrisons were composed mostly of untrained militia. They behaved nobly, and kept up the defence vigorously,

* Sir Henry Clinton's Despatch.

against a greatly superior force of disciplined and veteran soldiers, until twilight, when they were overpowered, and sought safety in a scattered retreat to the neighboring mountains. Many escaped, but a considerable number were slain or made prisoners. The brothers who commanded the forts escaped. The Governor fled across the river in a boat, and at midnight was with General Putnam at Continental Village, concerting measures for stopping the invasion. James, forcing his way to the rear, and receiving a severe bayonet wound in the thigh, found safety in the mountains, and the next day reached his home, at New Windsor, in Orange county. A sloop of ten guns, the frigate *Montgomery*, and two row-galleys, stationed near the boom and chain for their protection, slipped their cables, and attempted to escape. There was no wind to fill their sails, and they were burnt by the Americans to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The frigate *Congress*, which had already gone up the river, shared the same fate on the flats near Fort Constitution, which was abandoned.

By the light of these burning vessels the fugitive garrisons made their way over the rugged mountains, and a large portion of them joined General Clinton, at New Windsor, the next day. They had left many of their brave companions behind, who, to the number of two hundred and fifty, had been slain or made prisoners. The British, too, had parted with many men and brave officers. Among the latter was Lieutenant-colonel Campbell.

Early on the morning of the 7th of October the river obstructions between Fort Montgomery and Anthony's Nose, which cost the Americans a quarter of a million dollars, were destroyed, and a light flying-squadron, com-

manded by Sir James Wallace, and bearing a large number of land troops, under General Vaughan, sailed up the river on a marauding expedition, with instructions from Sir Henry to scatter desolation in their paths. It was hoped that such an expedition would draw troops from the Northern Army for the protection of the country below, and thereby assist Burgoyne.

Putnam and Clinton had agreed to move northward on opposite sides of the river, endeavor to keep pace with the ships, and so protect the people. Putnam at once abandoned Continental Village, took what stores he could with him, and retreated to a pass of the Highlands, not far from Fishkill. Governor Clinton tried to rally his broken little army at New Windsor, and to induce the militia to turn out; but the people all along the river were panic-stricken when they heard of the approaching foe, and were so busy removing their families back to places of supposed safety, that Clinton could never tell what his force might be. "They would come in the morning, and return at evening," he said.

When Clinton was about to leave New Windsor, with his little force, on the morning of the 9th, two strangers were seen coming from the direction of Fort Montgomery. They were arrested. One of them, who seemed to be much agitated, was seen to hastily swallow something. An emetic was administered, when a silver bullet was thrown up. He swallowed it again, and, under a threat of being immediately hanged and opened, he took a second emetic, with the same result. The bullet was elliptic, hollow, and screwed together at the middle. Within it, written upon tissue-paper, were the words—a despatch from Sir Henry Clinton to Burgoyne, dated at Fort Montgomery, October 8th:

"*Nous y voici* (here we are), and nothing between us and Gates. I sincerely hope this little success of ours will facilitate your operations."

The unfortunate bearer of this despatch was tried and condemned as a spy, and Clinton took him with him in a forced march toward Kingston, where the State Legislature was about to reassemble.

Meanwhile the marauding fleet had gone up the river, and obeyed instructions to the letter. Every vessel on the Hudson was burned; the houses of known patriots along the river banks were fired into, and parties went on shore here and there and plundered the inhabitants. The torch was kept in fearful activity. Finally, on the 13th of October, they landed above the Rondout Creek, and a large party marched upon Kingston, and laid almost every house in ashes. With all his zeal Governor Clinton could not reach that place with his followers in time to protect the people. He was two hours too late. In the presence of the incendiary flames he hung the spy that bore the silver bullet, upon the limb of an apple-tree. I saw that bullet and its inclosed despatch a few years ago in the possession of the late Charles Clinton, a grandson of General James Clinton.

Having laid Kingston in ashes, a detachment of the marauders passed over the river, marched to Rhinebeck Flats, and there destroyed the residences of conspicuous patriots. They pushed northward as far as Livingston's Manor, burning and plundering, with the expectation of joining victorious Burgoyne at Albany, when alarming news came to them from the Upper Hudson which made them speedily turn southward and rejoin the main forces of Sir Henry Clinton, in the Highlands. And Sir Henry

himself, after destroying the barracks and stores at Continental Village, and demolishing the forts in the Highlands, thought it prudent to decamp; and he returned to New York with his whole force, after an absence of twenty days.

During these stirring operations on the lower Hudson, Gates and Burgoyne had been working diligently in strengthening their respective positions at Bemis' Heights and vicinity. Each cast up strong intrenchments, and each seemed disposed to have the other take the initiative of battle. Gates felt quite sure of catching the apple in his lap if he should wait patiently until it was fully ripe, for he knew that Burgoyne's force was daily diminishing while his own was increasing. Some of Burgoyne's officers became impatient of delay. One of the Hessians wrote: "The enemy, though he can bring four times more soldiers against us than we have, shows no desire to make an attack."

Arnold, though without command, became chafed by the seeming apathy of Gates. He could not restrain his impatience, and wrote to that commander, saying: "I think it my duty (which nothing shall deter me from doing) to acquaint you, the army is becoming clamorous for action. The militia (who compose a quarter part of the army) are already threatening to go home. One fortnight's inaction will, I make no doubt, lesson your army, by sickness and desertion, at least four thousand men, in which time the enemy may be reinforced and make good their retreat. I have reasons to think that, had we improved the 20th of September, it might have ruined the enemy. That is past; let me entreat you to improve the present time."

Gates regarded this as impertinent meddling, and paid no attention to it; but at the same time he wrote to Governor Clinton: "Perhaps despair may dictate to Burgoyne to risk all upon one throw; he is an old gamester, and in his time has seen all chances. I will endeavor to be ready to prevent his good fortune, and, if possible, secure my own." He felt secure, for notwithstanding the militia were coming and going, his army was steadily increasing. Lincoln, with two thousand men, had joined him, and so, in ease, he bided his time.

A week had passed since Burgoyne had assured Sir Henry Clinton that he could hold out till the 12th of October, yet he heard nothing from that officer. On the first of October he was compelled to put his army on short allowance. He was hemmed in upon all sides. The armies were so near that not a night passed without firing, caused often by attacks upon the British pickets. For more than a fortnight after the battle, they were kept in a state of continual alarm. "I do not believe," said Burgoyne, "either officer or soldier ever slept in that interval without his clothes; or that any general officer or commander of a regiment passed a single night without being upon his legs occasionally at different hours, and constantly an hour before daylight."* Not a man or a biscuit were allowed to reach him from any quarter. Perils of every kind were weaving a fearful web around him; and at length, on the very day when Clinton captured the Highland forts, he came to the conclusion that he must either fight or fly. He chose to fight.

On the 4th of October Burgoyne consulted Phillips, Riedesel and Fraser on the situation. He proposed to

* Burgoyne's "State of the Expedition from Canada," i. page 166.

make an attempt, by a swift circuitous march, to turn the left of the Americans. Riedesel advised a swift retreat to Fort Edward. Fraser was willing to fight, and finally, on the morning of the 7th of October, Burgoyne agreed to try his fortune in a reconnoisance in force, and if there seemed no chance for a successful attack he would consider a retreat. Another object was the covering of a foraging party which necessity compelled him to send out. The Americans had, the day before, attacked his entire line of outposts, and were taking off his men in detail when seeking provisions, and his situation was absolutely untenable.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 7th, rations and liquor for four days having been previously issued to the troops, Burgoyne started with fifteen hundred picked men, eight brass cannon, and two howitzers, on his reconnoisance, moving toward the American left. He was seconded by Phillips, Riedesel and Fraser. Never were troops better commanded.

Burgoyne left the camp on the high ground in charge of Brigadiers Hamilton and Specht, and that of the redoubts near the river to Brigadier-General Gall. He moved to high ground, three-fourths of a mile to the left of the American line; and, behind a forest screen, he formed a line with his artillery, and offered battle. He sent out a party of five hundred, composed of rangers, loyalists and Indians, to make a circuit stealthily through the woods, and hang on the American rear, to keep them in check while the attack should be made on their front and flank.

Burgoyne's movement was discovered before he was quite ready for an attack. The advance-guard of the

American centre beat to arms. The alarm spread along the line. Gates ordered his officers to their alarm-posts, and sent Wilkinson to inquire the cause of the commotion. He returned with the news that the enemy was on the left, evidently preparing for an immediate attack. "Order out Morgan, to begin the game," said Gates, and that officer was soon on the march, with his riflemen and a body of infantry, to secure a position on heights on the right of the enemy; while General Poor, with his brigade of New York and New Hampshire troops, and a part of Learned's brigade, were directed to advance against the left of Burgoyne's line.

While this movement was in progress, a party of Canadians, Indians and loyalists, who had partly gained the rear of the Americans, attacked their pickets. These were soon joined by grenadiers, who drove the Americans back to their lines. There a hot engagement ensued for half an hour, in which Morgan soon engaged. He finally charged the assailants so vigorously that they retreated in confusion to the British line, which now appeared, in battle order, in a cleared field. The grenadiers, under Major Ackland, with the artillery, under Major Williams, formed the left, upon rising ground; the centre was composed of Brunswickers, under Riedesel, and British, under Phillips; and the light infantry, under Earl Balcarras, formed the extreme left. General Fraser had five hundred picked men a little in advance of the British right, ready to fall upon the flank of the Americans when the action in front should commence.

It was now half-past two o'clock. Just as Burgoyne was about to advance, he was astounded by the thunder of heavy artillery on his left, and the crack and rattle of rifles

and muskets on his right. Poor had advanced steadily up the slope on which the commands of Ackland and Williams rested, and pressed on, in perfect silence, toward the batteries of the enemy. Suddenly a terrible volley of musket-balls and grape-shot made havoc among the branches of the trees over their heads, but scarcely one took effect upon the men. This was the signal for the Americans to break silence. With a shout, they sprang forward, delivered their fire in rapid volleys, and then opened, right and left, to avail themselves of the shelter of trees on the margin of the ridge on which the British artillery was planted.

A deadly conflict now ensued. The Americans rushed up to the very mouths of the cannon, and among the carriages of field-pieces they struggled for victory. Equal valor appeared on both sides. For a time, the scale was equipoised. Five times one of the cannons was taken and retaken, when at last it remained with the patriots, as the British fell back. Colonel Cilley, who, during the whole contest, had fought at the head of his troops, leaped upon the captured gun, waved his sword high in air, dedicated the piece to "the American cause," wheeled its muzzle toward the enemy, and, with their own ammunition, opened its destructive thunders upon them.

The effect of this act was electrical, and served to give fresh courage to his troops, who yet had much to do, for the contest was long and obstinate. At length, Major Ackland, who was foremost in the conflict, was severely wounded, and Major Williams was taken prisoner. Deprived of their superior officers, the grenadiers and artillery-men, panic-struck, fled in confusion and left the field in possession of the republicans.

Almost simultaneously with the attack on the British left, Morgan, with his corps, rushed down the hill that skirted the flanking party of Fraser, in advance of the enemy's right, and opened upon them such a destructive storm of well-aimed bullets that they were driven hastily back to their lines. Then, with almost the speed of the gale, Morgan wheeled, and fell upon the British right flank with such appalling force and impetuosity that their ranks were at once thrown into confusion. The mode and force of the attack were both unexpected to the enemy, and they were greatly alarmed. While in this confusion, Major Dearborn, with some fresh troops, came up and attacked them in front. Thus assailed, they broke and fled in terror, but were rallied by Earl Balcarras, and again led into action. The shock on the right and left convulsed the British centre, which was composed chiefly of Germans and Hessians, yet it stood firm.

General Arnold had watched with eager eye and excited spirit the course of the battle thus far. Deprived of all command, he had no authority even to *fight*, much less to *order*. Smarting under the indignities heaped upon him by his commander, thirsting for that glory which beckoned him to the field, burning with a patriotic desire to serve his country, then bleeding at every pore, and stirred by the din of battle around him, the brave soldier became fairly maddened by his emotions, and, leaping upon his large brown horse, he started off, on a full gallop, for the field of conflict. Gates immediately sent Major Armstrong after him, to order him back. Arnold saw the subaltern in chase, and, anticipating his errand, spurred his charger, and left his pursuer far behind, while he placed himself at the head of three regiments of Learned's brigade, who

received their old commander with hearty cheers. He immediately led them against the British centre, and, with the desperation of a madman, he rushed into the thickest of the fight, or rode along the lines in rapid and erratic movements, brandishing his sword above his head, and delivering his orders everywhere in person. Armstrong had followed him for half an hour, but Arnold's course was so varied and perilous that he gave up the chase.

Arnold's assault upon the British centre was received by the Hessians with brave resistance, but when he made an equally impetuous charge and dashed furiously in among them, at the head of his men, they broke and fled in dismay. At this juncture the battle became general along the whole lines, and Arnold and Morgan were the ruling spirits in that of the Americans, while the gallant Fraser was the soul that directed the movements of the British, and by his conduct gave tone and energy to the men. Like Arnold, his voice and example were potential in directing attacks and in bringing order out of confusion. He soon fell, mortally wounded by a rifle ball from one of Morgan's men. Then a panic ran along the British lines. Burgoyne took command in person, but he could not keep up the sinking courage of his men, for at that moment three thousand fresh New York troops, under General Tenbroeck, appeared upon the field. The whole line of the enemy gave way, and the troops fled precipitately to their intrenchments, covered by Phillips and Riedesel. They left their artillery behind, for all the horses, and most of the men who had gallantly defended the field-pieces, were slain. Up to those intrenchments, in the face of a furious storm of grape-shot and bullets, the Americans, with Arnold at their head, eagerly pressed,

and, without the aid of artillery, vigorously assaulted the works. They were bravely defended by Earl Balcarras, and at that point of conflict was the hottest of the fight.

Above the din of arms the voice of Arnold was heard, and in the sulphurous smoke his form was seen, as he dashed from point to point, encouraging his troops. With a part of the brigades of Paterson and Glover he drove the troops of Balcarras from an *abatis* at the point of the bayonet, and attempted to force his way into the British camp. Failing in this, he placed himself at the head of Learned's brigade and made a furious assault upon the enemy's right, which was defended by Canadians and loyalists, who were flanked by a stockade redoubt on each side. For a while the result was doubtful. At length the English gave way, leaving Specht and his Germans entirely exposed. Arnold then galloped to the left and ordered the regiments of Wesson and Livingston, and Morgan's riflemen, to advance and make a general assault, while he, at the head of Brooks' regiment attacked the German works defended by Breyman. He rushed into the sally-port on his powerful horse, and spread terror among the Germans. They had seen him in the thickest of the fight for more than two hours, perfectly unharmed, and they regarded him with superstitious awe as one possessed of a charmed life. So they fled, giving a parting volley in their retreat which killed Arnold's horse under him, and severely lacerated the same leg which had been badly wounded at Quebec. There, at the moment of victory, and at the head of his victorious troops, wounded and disabled, he was overtaken by Major Armstrong, and received from him the order from Gates for Arnold's return to camp, for fear he might "do some rash thing."

He had, indeed, done a rash thing in achieving a victory without the order or even permission of his commander.

While Arnold was wielding the fierce sickle of war without, and reaping golden sheaves for Gates' garner, as Schuyler had intimated that he was likely to do, the commander (according to Wilkinson) was within his camp, more intent upon discussing the merits of the struggle with Sir Francis Clark (Burgoyne's aide-de-camp, who had been wounded and taken a prisoner, and was lying upon Gates' bed at head-quarters), than upon winning a battle which was all-important to the ultimate triumph of those principles for which he professed so warm an attachment. When Wilkinson came to him from the battle-field for orders, he found Gates very angry because Sir Francis would not allow the force of his argument. He left the room, and calling his aid after him, asked, as they went out: "Did you ever hear so impudent a son of a b—h?" Poor Sir Francis died that night upon the bed of his coarse and vulgar antagonist.

It was twilight when the wounded Arnold was conveyed, by Armstrong and a sergeant, from the field. The rout of the Germans was complete. They threw down their arms and fled in terror to their camp, leaving Breyman shot dead on the field. Specht tried in vain to rally them, and in the general confusion he was made a prisoner with several others.

Night speedily drew its curtains around the battle-field, where all was silent, excepting the groans of wounded men and an occasional word of command. At about midnight the division of General Lincoln, which had remained in camp, marched out to the relief of those upon the field, and before dawn, Burgoyne, who had resolved to retreat,

moved his whole force, with all his artillery and stores, a mile north of his first position, at Wilbur's Basin. Early on the morning of the 8th the American troops took possession of the evacuated British lines.

The loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded and missing, in the battle of the 7th of October, did not exceed one hundred and fifty. Arnold was the only commissioned officer who was injured. The British army suffered more severely. Their loss was about seven hundred. General Fraser was conveyed to the house of John Taylor, near Wilbur's Basin, where he died on the morning of the 8th. Colonel Breyman and Lieutenant Reynell died on the field. Major Ackland was severely wounded, and was taken a prisoner to the quarters of General Poor, within the American lines, where he was tenderly cared for by his wife, Lady Harriet Ackland, who, like the spouse of General Riedesel, had followed her husband to the war and shared with him the privations of camp life.

During the battle neither Gates nor Lincoln, his second in command, appeared on the field. The conflict was chiefly directed by Arnold; and under his leadership, with the able assistance of Morgan, the victory was won, and yet Gates, in his report, barely mentioned Arnold and Morgan, with Dearborn.

"It is a curious fact," says Sparks, in his Life of Benedict Arnold, "that an officer who had really no command in the army was the leader of one of the most spirited and important battles of the Revolution."

CHAPTER XXI.

We have observed that General Fraser died on the morning of the 8th of October. Madame the Baroness de Riedesel has left, in her journal, a vivid picture of the scene, from the time when he was brought, wounded, to her place of abode, until the close of the funeral ceremonies at his burial. She also gives a spirited narrative of the sufferings and trials of Lady Harriet Ackland, who was in a tent not far from the house wherein Fraser died, and who, at about the time when that officer was brought in, heard of the wounding and captivity of her husband. To that narrative the reader is referred for details. I will only note here that, as Major Ackland was not included in the capitulation at Saratoga, he and his wife went from New York to England, so soon as he was able to travel. On their way down, they were hospitably entertained by General Schuyler and his family, at Albany.

The body of General Fraser was conveyed, at twilight, to his chosen place of sepulture, on a hill not far from the place of his death. It was followed by the faithful chaplain of the artillery, Mr. Brudenell, and the generals and their military families. In the dim light, the gathering upon the hill appeared to the Americans like a hostile movement, and they opened a cannonade upon the funeral party, but so soon as they were informed of the solemn occasion they fired minute-guns instead, in honor of the fallen brave soldier.

That funeral, alone, had detained Burgoyne, for he found a retreat to be a stern necessity. He was equally liable to be attacked in front, flank and rear. These perils gave precipitation to his flight, and he abandoned his hospital, with three hundred sick and wounded in it, and several batteaux laden with baggage and provisions, and, in a pouring rain, made a dismal retreat with half-famished horses and dispirited men. The night was so dark, and the rain was so incessant, that the royal army did not reach Saratoga until the evening of the 9th. They continually suffered annoying and exasperating attacks from the Americans, on the march, and they found a party of them in their front, casting up intrenchments on the heights of Saratoga. These fled across the river, and joined General Fellows, on the eastern side of the stream.

When the retreating troops reached the Fish Kill, they found the bridge had been destroyed. They were too much exhausted to move farther, and cast themselves down upon the wet ground, without strength to build fires. They slept soundly for several hours, and at dawn on the 10th the entire fugitive army had crossed the Fish Kill, and taken position upon the intrenched heights north of it. The storm had ceased, but the atmosphere was laden with dense volumes of lurid smoke and flame of burning houses and other buildings, which had been fired by Burgoyne's orders, on the south side of the stream, to prevent the troops being attacked while fording it. Among other buildings destroyed was the fine country mansion of General Schuyler, together with his barn, mills, storehouses, granaries, and other buildings. Burgoyne, on the floor of the British Parliament, afterward said that the value of the property of General Schuyler, then destroyed by him,

was ten thousand pounds sterling, or fifty thousand dollars. "No part of your buildings have escaped their malice," Colonel Varick wrote to General Schuyler, on the 12th, "except the necessary and your upper saw-mill, which is in the same situation we left it. Hardly a vestige of the fences is left, except a few rails of the garden." All of his grain, and hay and farming implements were destroyed, and the only subsistence for cattle was good grass in the mown meadows. "Colonel Hay told me," Varick wrote to Schuyler on the 13th, "that of the one thousand barrels of pork, not above fifty were to be found—all is robbed and plundered." This wanton destruction was condemned by everybody, but Burgoyne attempted to palliate his offence by pleading the laws of self-preservation.

The main army of Gates moved northward, too, and on the afternoon of the day (10th October) when Burgoyne crossed the Fish Creek, or Kill, they reached the high ridge on the south side of that stream. The two armies were within the sound of each other's music, and the boats with the baggage and provisions of Burgoyne were at the mouth of the creek, from which fatigue-parties commenced carrying supplies to the British camp. General Fellows, whose brigade was posted on the hills eastward of the Hudson, opened a cannonade upon them. His batteries also commanded the ford of the river, over which Burgoyne intended to cross, and retreat to Fort Edward, and the perplexed general was forced to contemplate some other route for his flight. His camp was threatened with famine because of the difficulty and danger of taking food to it from the river under the guns of the Americans. His pride of opinion was compelled to give way under the force of necessity, and he was ready to lend a willing ear to the suggestions of others.

He called in Generals Phillips and Riedesel for consultation. The conference was held on the evening of the 11th. Riedesel proposed to leave the baggage behind, and, retreating up the west side of the Hudson, cross it four miles above Fort Edward (at which place they were informed a detachment of Americans were throwing up a redoubt to dispute their passage), and make their way to Fort George, and so on to Canada. Burgoyne could not make up his mind, but the next day (the 12th), perceiving a web of great difficulties a-weaving around him, he called a council of war, which was composed of himself and Generals Phillips, Riedesel, Hamilton and Gall.

Riedesel renewed his proposition for a retreat to Fort George by night, leaving their artillery and baggage behind. This was accepted, and the plan was ordered to be executed with the greatest secrecy. Rations for six days (all they had left) were distributed, but that night the order was countermanded, for a retreat had become impossible. Word had reached the British commander that the Americans had intrenchments that commanded the fords above. In fact the American army, increased by militia and volunteers that flocked in from all quarters, had now extended itself, in strong positions, in a line three-fourths of a circle around the British.

Burgoyne now gave up all further attempts at retreat, and began to strengthen his camp, with the vain hope of receiving succor from Clinton, below, or that an attack upon him might give him an opportunity to cut his way through. Meanwhile the Americans kept up an almost continual cannonade upon his camp, making it perilous to be anywhere within it. It was equally perilous to leave it; and so sharp was the fire upon those who ventured to

go to the river, that great distress prevailed in the camp for want of water. The Baroness Riedesel gives a graphic account of her perils and sufferings at this time, when she and her children and other women were compelled, for six days, to find shelter from cannon-balls, in a cellar. There, at the risk of his life, her husband occasionally visited her. On one occasion General Phillips was with him. When that officer saw the sufferings and danger to which that noble woman was exposed, he was overcome with emotion, and said: "I would not for ten thousand guineas see this place again. I am heart-broken with what I have seen." Madame Riedesel's greatest distress arose from the fear that the army might be suddenly driven away and she and her children be left behind.

Burgoyne now despaired. On the afternoon of the 13th he called another council of war, composed of all the generals, field-officers and captains commanding troops. The council were not long in session. They agreed that it would be best to open negotiations with General Gates for a surrender on honorable terms, when the following correspondence occurred:

"October 13, 1777.

"Lieut.-General Burgoyne is desirous of sending a Field Officer with a Message to M. General Gates upon a matter of high moment to both Armies. He requests to be informed at what hour Gen. Gates will receive him to-morrow morning."

"13th Oct., 1777.

"Major-General Gates will receive a Field Officer from Lieut.-General Burgoyne at the advanced post of the army of the United States, at ten o'clock to-morrow morning; from whence he will be conducted to Head Quarters."

At the appointed hour, Major Robert Kingston, Burgoyne's adjutant-general, delivered a message to General Gates, from Lieut.-General Burgoyne, in which he prop
a "cessation of arms during the time necessary to c

municate the preliminary terms by which, in any extremity, he and his army mean to abide."

To this General Gates made answer in a proposal of terms of surrender, in seven sections. The sixth demanded that when the foregoing five should be agreed to and signed, the troops under Burgoyne should be drawn up in their encampment, where they would "be ordered to ground their arms, and may thereupon be marched to the river-side to be passed over on their way towards Bennington," for a march into New England.

To this proposal Burgoyne, at sunset, replied: "If General Gates does not mean to recede from the 6th article, the treaty ends at once;" and upon the margin of the article itself, he wrote: "Sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarters."

Counter-proposals were then sent to Gates by Burgoyne, which stipulated that the British troops were to march out of the camp with artillery and all the honors of war, to a fixed place, where they were to pile their arms at a word of command from their own officers; to be allowed a free passage to Europe upon condition of not serving again in America, *during* the present war; the army not to be separated; roll-calling and other regular duties to be permitted; the officers to be on parole and to wear their side arms; all private property to be sacred; no baggage to be searched or molested; and all persons appertaining to or following the camp, whatever might be their country, to be comprehended in these terms of capitulation."

Colonel Varick sent the glad news to Schuyler, saying:

"Burgoyne says he will send all his general officers at 10 in the morning to finish and settle the business. This, I trust, will be accomplished before 12, and then I shall have the honor and happiness of congratulating you on the glorious success of our arms—I wish to God I could say under your command. If you wish to see Burgoyne, you will be necessitated to see him here."*

On the following day the sturdy and unselfish patriot, forgetful of all private feelings in view of the public good, and rejoicing that his rival had subdued the enemies of his country, replied: "The event that has taken place makes the heavy loss I have sustained set quite easy on me. Britain will probably see how fruitless her attempts to enslave us will be. I set out to-day."†

Gates, who had just heard of the depredations of Vaughan and Wallace on the Lower Hudson, and the fall of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, feeling a little nervous, accepted Burgoyne's propositions, and they were put into form for signature. Before this was done, Burgoyne, on the night of the 16th, received information concerning the success of Clinton, and the expedition up the Hudson, and believing that a British force might then be at or near Albany, he was inclined to break the treaty. He called a council of war to consider the matter, when fourteen voices against eight declared that such an act would be a violation of the public faith. The capitulation was accordingly signed, at nine o'clock on the morning of the 17th. The German troops were sadly disappointed by the event. Riedesel addressed them in manly and soothing words, and then proceeded to secretly secure their colors. He had them taken down from the flag-staff, and delivered to his wife, who had them sewed up in a sack, and, thenceforth, he slept upon them.

* Autograph Letter, Oct. 14, 1777.

† Autograph Letter, October 14, 1777.

The vanquished army left their camp at eleven o'clock, and marched down to the plain, near old Fort Hardy, on the verge of the Hudson River. There, drawn up in companies, in parallel lines, under the direction of their respective commanders, they grounded their arms, and emptied their cartridge-boxes. This was a delicate arrangement made by Gates, to save the captives the mortification of submitting, under the gaze of the exulting Americans. For this unusual courtesy, Burgoyne and all his officers expressed their gratitude and admiration. The German soldiers did not seem to appreciate it, for, in their rage, before parting with their muskets they knocked off the butt-ends of them, while the drummers stamped their drums to pieces.*

The conduct of Gates and his army at that time was in bold contrast with that of the British, who, while Burgoyne and his army were receiving the most favorable conditions, were plundering the people along the Hudson, and laying the village of Kingston in ashes.

As soon as the troops had laid down their arms, General Burgoyne proposed to be introduced to General Gates. For this purpose he dressed with the greatest care in full court apparel. His regimentals were bordered with gold, and in his hat were streaming plumes.

Led by Wilkinson, Burgoyne and his suite crossed the Fish Creek, and proceeded toward the American headquarters. Burgoyne and his adjutant, Kingston, rode

* *Brunswick Journal*, translated by William L. Stone. The *Journal* speaks of the conduct of Gates as being, on that occasion, "Exceedingly noble and generous toward the captives. He commanded his troops to wheel round, the instant they laid down their arms. He himself drew down the curtains of his carriage, in which he had driven to the ground, and in which he was then seated." This is a mistake. Colonel Wilkinson, of Gates' staff, was the only American officer present, and he was on horseback.

ahead, followed by his aides-de-camp, Captain Lord Petersham and Lieutenant Wilford. Following these, were Generals Phillips, Riedesel, Hamilton, and other officers and suites, according to rank. They were met, not far below the smouldering ruins of General Schuyler's mansion,* by General Gates and his suite. He was dressed plainly, with a blue overcoat. His officers were in full uniform. He was accompanied by General Schuyler, in citizen's dress, although he was yet an officer of the army. He had come up from Albany to congratulate Gates on his success, and share in the pleasures, if not the honors, of the occasion.

When the parties were near each other, they reined up their horses, and Colonel Wilkinson introduced Gates and Burgoyne. The latter said, as he raised his hat gracefully, "The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner;" to which the former promptly replied, "I shall always be ready to bear testimony that it has not been through any fault of your Excellency." The whole party then repaired to Gates' head-quarters, where a dinner was spread, beneath a marquee, upon boards laid across barrels which served for a table.

Meanwhile General Riedesel had sent for his wife and children. She was treated with the greatest respect as she passed through the American camp, for the sight of a captive mother touched the tenderest sensibilities of the American heart. We will let the Baroness tell the remainder of her story herself:

* In the official record of these transactions, occurs the following passage: "Major Kingston had authority to settle the places for the meeting of the officers proposed. This was, after some conversation, agreed to by Major-general Gates. Fixed by Major Kingston to be upon the ground where Mr. Schuyler's house stood."

"I confess that I feared to come into the American camp, as the thing was so entirely new to me. When I approached the tents, a noble-looking man came towards me, took the children out of the wagon, embraced and kissed them, and then, with tears in his eyes, helped me, also, to alight. 'You tremble,' said he to me; 'fear nothing.' 'No,' replied I, 'for you are so kind and have been so tender toward my children that it has inspired me with courage.' He then led me to the tent of General Gates, with whom I found Generals Burgoyne and Phillips, who were upon an extremely friendly footing with him. Burgoyne said to me: 'You may now dismiss all your apprehensions, for your sufferings are at an end.' I answered him that I should certainly be acting very wrongly to have any more anxiety when our chief had none, and especially when I saw him on such a friendly footing with General Gates.

"All the generals remained to dine with General Gates. The man who had received me so kindly, came up and said to me, 'It may be embarrassing to you to dine with all these gentlemen; come, now, with your children, into my tent, where I will give you, it is true, a frugal meal, but one that will be accompanied by the best of wishes.' 'You are certainly,' answered I, 'a husband and a father, since you show me so much kindness.' I then learned that he was the American General SCHUYLER. He entertained me with excellent smoked tongue, beef-steak, potatoes, good butter and bread. Never have I eaten a better meal. I was content. I saw that all around me were so, likewise; but that which rejoiced me more than everything else was that my husband was out of all danger.

"As soon as we had finished dinner, he [Schuyler] invited me to take up my residence at his house, which was situated in Albany, and told me that General Burgoyne would also be there. I sent and asked my husband what I should do. He sent me word to accept the invitation; and, as it was two days' journey from where we were, and already five o'clock in the afternoon, he advised me to set out in advance, and to stay over-night at a place distant about three hours' ride. General Schuyler was so obliging as to send with me a French officer, who was a very agreeable man. As soon as he had escorted me to the house where we were to remain, he went back."

After the dinner in Gates' marquee, the American army was drawn up in parallel lines on each side of the road leading to Albany. Between these the vanquished army passed, escorted by a company of light dragoons, who marched to the tune of Yankee Doodle. Just as they were passing, the two commanding generals came out

of the marquee and gazed upon the sad procession in silence, for a few moments. Then, without exchanging a word, Burgoyne, according to a previous understanding, stepped back, drew his sword, and, in the presence of the two armies, presented it to Gates. He received it courteously, and immediately returned it to the vanquished general. They then retired to the marquee together; the British army filed off and prepared to make a march of about three hundred miles, to Boston. So ended the drama upon the heights of Saratoga. Colonel Trumbull, in his picture of Burgoyne's surrender of his sword to Gates, painted for the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, gave the portrait of one person in citizen's dress—a dark-brown suit. It is the portrait of General Schuyler.

The whole number of prisoners surrendered was five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, of whom two thousand four hundred and twelve were Brunswickers and Hessians. On the staff of General Burgoyne (eleven in number) were six members of the British Parliament. Besides these, there were one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six prisoners of war, including sick and wounded, abandoned to the Americans; and of deserters there were three hundred. Including the killed, wounded and prisoners at Ticonderoga and its outposts, at Hubbardton, Fort Anne, Bennington, Oriskany, Fort Stanwix, and in the neighborhood of Saratoga, the total loss of the British in that northern campaign, given in a memorandum made in the handwriting, it is said, of Governor George Clinton upon the manuscript Orderly Book of Burgoyne, was nine thousand five hundred and eighty-three.*

* Gates' trophies of victory were a fine train of brass artillery, con

The American force, under the immediate command of Gates, at the time of the surrender, was thirteen thousand two hundred and twenty-two, of which number nine thousand and ninety-three were Continentals, or regular soldiers, and the remainder were militia. Add to these the number of troops, mostly militia, subject to Gates' call, and actually under arms, made the whole number about twenty-five thousand men—a wide disparity in the strength which had been, respectively, given to Schuyler and Gates. The former, with a handful of men, composing an ever-changing army, opposed and crippled Burgoyne when his forces were in full power; while the latter, with more than thirteen thousand troops immediately in hand, and almost as many more within call, fought and conquered the British in their extreme weakness which the skill, energy and perseverance of General Schuyler had caused.

The vanquished army of Burgoyne was conducted to the vicinity of Boston. "Their march," says a cotemporary, "was solemn, sullen and silent; but they were everywhere treated with such humanity, and even delicacy, that they were overwhelmed with astonishment and gratitude. Not an insult was offered, not an opprobrious reflection cast."*

Congress ratified the generous terms made by Gates with Burgoyne, but circumstances made it apparent

sisting of two twenty-four pounders, four twelve-pounders, twenty sixes, six threes, two eight-inch howitzers, five five-and-a-half-inch royal howitzers, and three five-and-a-half-inch royal mortars—in all, forty-two pieces of ordnance. There were four thousand six hundred and forty-seven muskets, six thousand dozen cartridges, besides shot, shells, cases, cuirasses, etc.

* Mercy Warren's "History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution," ii. 40.

that the vanquished army would violate the agreement at the first opportunity. So satisfied were Washington and Congress that such a course was in contemplation, that it was resolved not to allow the "convention troops," as they were called, to leave the country until the British government should ratify the treaty at Saratoga. As that government refused to acknowledge the authority of Congress, it could not be done, and so the troops were kept idle in America for four or five years. In the autumn of 1778, they were sent from New England to Virginia, where they remained two years, when they were removed to Maryland, and again into New England. It was not until in the course of the year 1782 that they were all liberated or exchanged.

General Schuyler remained at Saratoga, after the surrender, to look after his private affairs. He sent Colonel Varick to Mrs. Schuyler, in Albany, to announce the speedy coming of guests from the vanquished army. He sent thither the Baroness Riedesel and her children in his own carriage; and Generals Burgoyne, Riedesel and other officers were escorted on horseback, the latter in company with General Glover.

Mrs. Schuyler received these guests with her accustomed cordiality, and the Baroness and her daughters were treated as friends, and not as enemies.

"They loaded us with kindness," she wrote, "and they behaved in the same manner toward General Burgoyne, though he had ordered their splendid establishment to be burnt, and without any necessity, it was said. But all these actions proved that in the sight of the misfortunes of others they quickly forgot their own."

Burgoyne paid a fine tribute to General Schuyler's generosity, in a speech in the British Parliament. He said that he was one of the first persons whom he met in the

American camp, and when he attempted to make some explanation or excuse for his act in destroying his property, the general begged him not to think of it, as the occasion justified it, on the principles and rules of war.

"He did more," Burgoyne said, "he sent an aide-de-camp to conduct me to Albany, in order, as he expressed it, to procure better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. That gentleman conducted me to a very elegant house, and, to my great surprise, presented me to Mrs. Schuyler and her family. In that house I remained during my whole stay in Albany, with a table of more than twenty covers for me and my friends, and every other demonstration of hospitality."

Burgoyne, Riedesel, and their friends, remained the guests of Mrs. Schuyler until the 26th (October, 1777,) when the former, having completed his despatches to his government, set off for Boston, with all his people. On the previous day, Colonel Varick wrote to Schuyler:

"Burgoyne and Riedesel, with their retinue, are still here. They give Mrs. Schuyler no small trouble. The former's despatches are not yet completed. On Saturday he mentioned to Mrs. Schuyler, with tears in his eyes, his situation—that he had received so much civility from you, and again repeated by Mrs. Schuyler, whose property he had destroyed, but pleads that it was thought necessary, to save his army. He behaves with great politeness, and seems to be more free in conversation on the subject of his campaign, which, he says, has been a very bloody one as ever he knew, considering the number of his army. He would have given all of his Indians, provincials and volunteers for fifty British troops. He values them at less than one-half a farthing per cart-load."

De Chastellux, in his "Travels in America," relates some incidents of Burgoyne's sojourn at the house of General Schuyler.

"The British commander," he says, "was well received by Mrs. Schuyler, and lodged in the best apartment in the house. An excellent supper was served him in the evening, the honors of which were done with so much grace that he was affected even to tears, and said with a deep sigh, 'Indeed, this is doing too much for a man who has ravaged their lands and burned their dwellings.' The next morning, he was reminded of his misfortunes by an incident that would have amused any one else. His bed was prepared in a large room; but, as he had a numerous suite, or family, several mattresses were spread on the

floor, for some officers to sleep near him. Schuyler's second son, a little fellow about seven years old, very arch and forward, but very amiable, was running, all the morning, about the house. Opening the door of the saloon, he burst out a laughing on seeing all the English collected, and shut it after him, exclaiming, 'You are all my prisoners!' This innocent cruelty rendered them more melancholy than before."

Burgoyne had gayly boasted that he should eat his Christmas dinner in Albany, as a conqueror. His fate was different.

CHAPTER XXII.

The surrender of Burgoyne was an event of infinite importance to the struggling republicans, for it gave confidence in their ability to win success, both at home and abroad. The waning credit of the Congress was restored, and new life and vigor were thereby given to the public service. The militia of the country readily obeyed the summons to the camp, and the great patriot heart of America beat strongly with pulsations of hope. The tide of public opinion in Europe set strongly in favor of the Americans. France hastened to form an alliance with the States, and to declare their independence; and Spain, the States-General of Holland, and even Catharine of Russia and the Pope, all of whom feared and hated England, because of her increasing potency and pride, now spoke kindly of the Americans, and were willing to afford them material aid.

In the joy of the moment, Gates was apotheosized in the hearts of the people, and his egotism knew no bounds. In the pride of his heart, he scorned to send a report to Congress through his commander-in-chief, as in duty bound, but forwarded the news of his victory directly to that body, in the mouth of his aide-de-camp, Colonel Wilkinson. The Congress forgot their own dignity, in the excitement of the hour, and allowed that subaltern to stand upon the floor of their hall, eighteen days after the

surrender, and proclaim: "The whole British army have laid down their arms, at Saratoga; our own, full of vigor and courage, expect your orders: it is for your wisdom to decide where the country may still have need of their services."* The Congress voted the nation's thanks to General Gates and his army, and decreed that he should be presented with a medal of gold, to be struck expressly in commemoration of so glorious a victory.

The character of Gates, as a general and patriot, was now brought into strong contrast with that of Schuyler. The supercilious demeanor of Gates, while wearing the fresh, borrowed laurels of a great victory, disgusted sensible people. He treated General Schuyler, to whom he was largely indebted for his honors, almost with disdain, and allowed his jealousy of that unselfish patriot to make him so far forget or defy the proprieties of social life, as to be guilty of actually opening a letter from the President of Congress to that gentleman, which came into his (Gates') hands before Schuyler had returned from Saratoga. Gates sent the letter to Colonel Varick, to be forwarded to Schuyler, without a word of apology for his misconduct.

Gates now had dreams of occupying Washington's position, and he seemed to be as willing to ruin his commander's military reputation as he and his friends in the Congress had been to ruin the reputation of General Schuyler.

* The tardiness of Wilkinson (who had stopped to gossip on the the way, spent a day at Reading with a young lady from Philadelphia, whom he afterward married, and took three days, after his arrival at York, where Congress was sitting, to arrange his papers and prepare for his grandiloquent speech to that body) caused much remark. When it was proposed in Congress to pay a proper compliment to him who had brought them such agreeable news, Samuel Adams arose, and, with a grave and solemn face, moved that the "young gentleman should be presented with a pair of spurs." Congress soon made this favorite of General Gates a brigadier-general by brevet.

For weeks, Washington had been struggling, with an inferior force, to save Philadelphia from the grasp of the invaders, or to drive them from it after they had gained possession of it. Gates had no further use for his large force in the north, and it was his imperative duty to send to Washington a greater portion of his troops to reinforce the broken battalions in Pennsylvania, and so assist the General-in-chief in reducing Howe to the condition of Burgoyne. But this course did not suit the ambitious views of Gates. He was willing to see the sun of Washington's renown set among the clouds of disaster to his country, that his own feeble orb, endowed with reflected light, might appear the most brilliant luminary of the two, and so insure the success of his intrigues. He, therefore, detained a large part of his army in the vicinity of Albany, under the false pretence, as it afterward appeared, of undertaking an expedition against Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, the garrisons of which had fled into Canada soon after the surrender of Burgoyne, while Sir Henry Clinton, and his marauders on the Hudson, had almost as speedily returned, in affright, to New York.

Gates' tardiness in obeying the orders of the Commander-in-chief to send reinforcements to Pennsylvania amounted to absolute disobedience, and Washington sent his most trusted aid, Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hamilton, to acquaint Gates with the necessities of the service below, and to hasten the forwarding of troops.* Gates

* Hamilton bore a letter from Washington to Gates, in which the Chief said the former would give the latter fuller information than he thought it prudent to write. He congratulated Gates on his success, and then said: "At the same time, I cannot but regret that a matter of such magnitude, and so interesting to our general operations, should have reached me by report only, or through the channel of letters not having the authenticity which the importance of it required, and which it would have received by a line, under your signature, stating the simple fact."

still hesitated. Hamilton's keen perceptions divined his reasons, and he used very plain language toward the intriguer. He demanded and obtained the forwarding of strong reinforcements, but these, at the instigation of Gates, were detained by General Putnam, below the Highlands, who contemplated the winning of glory for himself, by driving the British army from New York city. Hamilton found Putnam actually advanced as far as White Plains, on that Quixotic undertaking, when, by the advice of Governor Clinton, Washington's aid spoke authoritatively, in the name of his chief, and arrested the foolish expedition.* But Gates had, by these delays, frustrated the plans of Washington, and so powerful was the faction of the intriguer's friends in the Congress that they caused legislation which was calculated to dishonor Washington, by making him subservient to his inferiors in rank. They forbade him to detach more than twenty-five hundred troops from the Northern Army, without first consulting General Gates and Governor Clinton; and the Adamses and Gerry, of Massachusetts, and Marchant, of Rhode Island, even voted for a resolution that Washington should not detach *any* troops from that department, excepting after consultation with Gates and Clinton. The Congress also ordered Gates to "regain the forts and passes on the Hudson," which Washington had already regained by pressing Howe so closely that he was compelled to order their abandonment. But it afforded an excuse for keeping back reinforcements for the Commander-in-chief.

That Gates, at this juncture, not only aspired to be the

* It was during this visit to Albany that Colonel Hamilton became acquainted with General Schuyler's second daughter, Elizabeth, whom he afterward married.

General-in-chief of the American forces, but conspired with others to effect that object by supplanting Washington, cannot be doubted by any intelligent student of the documentary history of that time.

"I cannot precisely mark the extent of their views," Washington afterward wrote to Patrick Henry, "but it appeared, in general, that General Gates was to be exalted on the ruin of my reputation and influence. This I am authorized to say, from undeniable facts in my possession, from publications, and from private detractions, industriously circulated. General Mifflin, it is commonly supposed, bore a second part in the cabal; and General Conway, I know, was a very active and malignant partisan."

So active was the latter officer—a Franco-Irishman—in the conspiracy, that it is known in history as "Conway's Cabal." The story is so familiar to American readers that it is not necessary to repeat it here. Suffice it to say that the character of Washington grew brighter and brighter under the trials to which the conspirators subjected him, and these men, in the end, were covered with shame and confusion.

Foiled in their more direct attempts to ruin General Washington by means of anonymous and forged letters, and slanders industriously circulated, as they had been against General Schuyler by the same men, the faction resorted to the more direct means of abridging the influence of the Commander-in-chief, by the creation of a new Board of War, and the appointment of Gates as its president. That work was effected late in November. Mifflin and Colonel Trumbull (Schuyler's bitter enemy) were active members of the Board. It was invested with large powers, and, by delegated authority, assumed the control of military affairs, which properly belonged to the province of the Commander-in-chief. It was evident that Congress intended to make Gates thenceforth the master-spirit of the war; for, by resolution, that body instructed

their president to inform the general of his appointment to an office "upon the right execution of which the success of the American cause does eminently depend," and that it was the "intention of Congress to continue his rank as Major-general in the army, and that he officiate at the Board, or in the field, as occasion may require."* Gates' partisans in the Congress hastened to assure him that he would soon be the virtual commander-in-chief.

The first important business of the Board of War, after Gates' arrival, was the arrangement of a winter campaign against Canada, suggested by General Schuyler, in a long and able letter to Congress, written on the 4th of November. That letter seems to have passed unnoticed by Congress, as no record of it appears in their journals. It was used by Gates, however, in arranging the plan of the expedition, but that officer made no reference to Schuyler's agency in the matter, but claimed and received full credit for the plan. If it had been carried out, in detail, as Schuyler proposed, it might have been eminently successful.

Evidently hoping to win Lafayette to their interest, the faction procured his appointment to the command of the expedition, without any consultation with Washington. The shrewd young Marquis, aware of their intrigues, saw in his own appointment a part of the nefarious plan, and he asked Washington's advice as to how he should act. Washington told him it was an honorable position, though he could not see how the enterprise was to be accomplished, and advised him to accept the commission. He repaired to York, where Congress was sitting, to procure it, and there met Gates and the Board of War, at table.

* Journals of Congress, iii. 423.

Wine circulated freely, and toasts were offered. At length the French Marquis, thinking it time to show his colors, arose and said: "One toast, I perceive, has been omitted, and which I will now propose." They filled their glasses, when he gave: "The Commander-in-chief of the American Armies." The coldness with which the toast was received confirmed the Marquis' worst opinions of the men around him. These ill-opinions were heightened when he found that Conway had been appointed his second in command. He procured the appointment of De Kalb as the second, and so made Conway the third.

Lafayette was cordially received, at Albany, by General Schuyler, under whose roof he was an honored guest. Conway had arrived before him, and been assured, by Schuyler, Lincoln and Arnold, that, with the materials at hand, a successful expedition into Canada was impossible. Lafayette had been promised three thousand men, well supplied. "I don't believe I can find," he wrote to Washington, "twelve hundred men, fit for duty, and the quarter part of these are naked, even for a summer campaign." He found himself utterly deceived by the falsehoods of Gates. That officer had told him that he would find Stark and his New England troops there, awaiting his coming, and had even said: "General Stark will have burned the fleet before your arrival."

The Marquis found, instead, only a letter from Stark, inquiring what number of men, from where, and at what rendezvous, he desired him to raise. Lafayette fully comprehended the trick. "I fancy," he wrote, "the actual scheme is to have me out of this part of the country, and General Conway as chief, under the immediate command of Gates." The conspirators could not use Lafayette.

Congress finally abandoned the enterprise, and the Marquis, disgusted with the whole affair, returned to Washington's camp at Valley Forge.

So ended an injudicious scheme as prepared, if honestly planned; a wicked and treasonable one if dishonestly planned by a faction to acomplish their own selfish purposes. And so ended the conspiracy to elevate Gates to the chief command; and so, also, ended the persecutions of General Schuyler by the same cabal, for, as we have seen, he was, a few months later, tried and triumphantly vindicated by a court-martial, and his conduct fully justified by the Congress.*

At about this time, the British Parliament, alarmed by the successes of the Americans and their alliance with the French, passed Lord North's "Conciliatory Bills," as they were called, which were intended to bring about a pacification of the insurgent States. They were silent on the subject of independence—a fatal omission. Commissioners were appointed to proceed to America to negotiate for peace, in accordance with their provisions. The bills preceded the commissioners, and copies were sent throughout the colonies. Governor Tryon had the impertinence to send some of them to Washington, at Valley Forge, with a request that he should distribute them among his officers. He sent them to the Congress, at York, saying:

"Nothing short of independence, it appears to me, can possibly do. A peace on any other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war. The injuries we have received from the British nation were so unprovoked, and have been so great and so many, that they can never be forgotten."

These brave words were spoken before the news of the alliance with France had reached the colonies. They

* See page 320.

found a coincident response in Congress. The Conciliatory Bills did not propose the independence of the revolted States, and the Congress were prepared to reject any overtures from the commissioners, unless preceded by an expressed willingness to treat on the basis of their absolute independence. This the Commission were not authorized to do. They came, their overtures were rejected, and they returned in the autumn, after scattering broadcast over the land a proclamation uttering threats of a vigorous prosecution of the war against the contumacious "rebels."

Before their arrival, news of the French alliance had been received and joyfully celebrated in the camp at Valley Forge; and the Congress, the army and the people felt renewed confidence in the final success of the struggle, because they knew that they were in the right. "Nothing short of independence ought to be considered by us," General Schuyler wrote to Edward Rutledge. "The precious prize is within our grasp, and we should be faithless to the cause of human freedom were we not to accept it with all its consequences. For myself, my life and fortune shall be freely given to the cause until that prize shall be ours."

General Schuyler's military career, as a commander, ended when General Gates became his successor, in 1777, yet he held the office of Major-general in the army, as we have seen, until the spring of 1779, because the Congress would not, before that time, accept his resignation. But he was by no means inactive. He served his country faithfully, in various ways, as an officer and private citizen, and especially as a Commissioner of Indian Affairs, until the close of the war.

Although the Congress, in November, 1777, gave Schuyler permission, by resolution, to attend to his own suffering private affairs, until the committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the loss of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence should make their report,* he did not relax his efforts to serve the cause. He continued to be, as hitherto, the great Eye of the Northern Department, vigilant to detect all hostile movements, and quick to give information. He kept up a correspondence with the President of Congress and the Commander-in-chief, on public affairs, during the whole of the next eventful year; and those officers relied more upon him for correct information than upon any other man.

As President of the Board of Commissioners of Indian Affairs, Schuyler's duties were now very arduous, for it required incessant and energetic action to hold a large portion of the Six Nations to their neutrality. His associates were Timothy Edwards, Oliver Wolcott, and Volkert P. Douw, assisted by James Duane, who had been appointed by the Congress to represent that body in the Board. When the two great armies in the field went into winter-quarters, that of Howe in Philadelphia, and of Washington at Valley Forge, the more active duties of the Indian Commissioners began, and were chiefly performed by General Schuyler.

So threatening became the aspect of the more western of the Six Nations, at the close of 1777, that Congress recommended the Commissioners to hold a treaty with them, having for its prime objects: (1) to induce the Indians to make war upon the tribes (their enemies) then desolating the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and

* Journals of Congress, iii. 392.

Virginia; and (2) to induce them to surprise and capture the British post of Niagara.

The treaty was held at Johnstown, and was opened on the 9th of March, when about seven hundred dusky delegates were present. Lafayette, yet commander of the Northern Department, accompanied the Commission. A speech, brought from Congress by Mr. Duane, was read by General Schuyler, and interpreted by Mr. Deane. It asserted the power of the United States in the most emphatic manner, and their magnanimous conduct toward the Six Nations; distinctly charged the latter with ingratitude, cruelty and treachery, with which their friendly advances had been met, and demanded reparation for these crimes. From these charges the Oneidas and Tuscaroras were exempted.

The council was not satisfactory. It was evident that the more powerful of the Six Nations, with Brant at their head, were devising schemes of vengeance because of losses inflicted upon them at Oriskany, and the Commissioners left the council with the painful impression that war with those nations would speedily be an inevitable event.

At the middle of April, Schuyler laid before the Commissioners letters from the Congress and Washington, respecting the retaining of four hundred of the warriors of the Six Nations in the Continental service; and Deane was sent among them to recruit that number of volunteers. This was followed by a stirring letter from Colonel Marinus Willett, at Fort Schuyler, in May, announcing the alliance between the United States and France. But all peaceful efforts failed, and hostile preparations were wisely made. Buildings were stockaded at Cherry Valley and among the Schoharie settlers, and garrisoned, and each was

armed with a small brass field-piece. Forts Schuyler and Dayton (the latter on the site of the village of Herkimer) were strengthened, and Fort Plain, lower down the Mohawk valley, was enlarged and provided with more power. Their movements were watched by scouts and spies sent out by Johnson and Butler; and a nephew of Sir Guy Carleton was lurking near Johnstown, for the same purpose.

These preparations were not made a moment too soon. While the stockading of Colonel Samuel Campbell's house, at Cherry Valley, was going on, Brant and his followers were hovering around the settlement, and he was organizing scalping parties at Oghquaga, and sending them out against other settlements. Very soon, the hills and valleys were nightly illuminated by burning buildings, and made hideous by the shrieks of women and children. Springfield, at the head of Otsego lake, was laid in ashes in May. In June, Cobleskill, in Schoharie county, was attacked by Brant and his warriors, who killed a portion of the garrison, and plundered and burnt the houses. In July, a severe skirmish occurred on the upper waters of the Cobleskill, between five hundred Indians and some regulars and militia; and at about the same time occurred the dreadful tragedy in the valley of Wyoming, whose history is familiar to all American readers.

Meanwhile Brant, with fearful energy, was sending war parties through all the country south of the Mohawk river, and the Johnsons and their Tory followers were the allies of the savages in their bloody work. They kept the dwellers in that region in continual alarm all the summer and autumn, and, finally, at near the middle of November, during a storm of sleet, these ferocious allies fell, like

lightning, upon Cherry Valley, and murdered, plundered and destroyed, without stint. Walter Butler, son of Colonel John Butler, who had been treated leniently by the patriots, and kindly by General Schuyler, while a prisoner in Albany, was the arch-fiend of the occasion, and would listen to no appeals for mercy from the more humane Brant. He seemed like the incarnation of evil; but his crimes were arrested by his death, soon afterward, for the bullet and the hatchet of a friendly Oneida left his carcass for the wild beasts in the woods on East Canada Creek.

In the meantime stirring events had taken place in other parts of the struggling States. The suffering army of Washington, at Valley Forge, had been made happy and hopeful by the news of the alliance with France; and the same news, and intimations of a powerful French fleet being on its way toward the Delaware, made the commander of the British army, in Philadelphia, resolve upon speedy flight. Howe had left, and Sir Henry Clinton was in his place. The latter passed over the Delaware, and fled, with his army, across New Jersey, closely followed by Washington and his troops. They fought a severe battle at Monmouth, at near the close of June; and that night, after the moon had gone down, the British silently withdrew from the field, and hastened toward the shores of Raritan Bay, where lay Admiral Howe's fleet. By it the fugitives were carried to New York, while Washington made his way to the east side of the Hudson, and encamped in Westchester county.

There had also been stirring but indecisive events in Rhode Island, and the fourth year of the war drew to a close without much apparent advantage having been gained by either party during the twelve months. Clinton

sent a force to Georgia, late in the year, to operate in the weaker Southern States; and, at about the first of December, Washington distributed his army in a line of cantonments, extending from Long Island Sound to the Delaware river, and made his head-quarters at Middlebrook, in New Jersey.

Lafayette was anxious to distinguish himself in a separate command, and urged an expedition against Canada, in 1779. The Congress approved the project. Schuyler gave such minute and valuable information to Washington concerning the matter, that the Chief was enabled, by mere figures, to so wisely oppose the measure as to defeat the scheme.

During the winter preceding the acceptance of his resignation, Schuyler was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the expedition, under Sullivan, against the more westerly of the Six Nations, which shattered the power and enfeebled the spirit of the Iroquois league, and finally led to a lasting peace. He was continually consulted by Washington and the Congress, long after he had left the military service. When, in June, 1779, Washington moved his head-quarters from Middlebrook to the banks of the Hudson river, Schuyler was frequently called into personal consultation with the Chief, especially concerning affairs on the Northern frontier; and when, in the autumn of 1779, peace with the Six Nations seemed to be secured by conquest and severe discipline, and no immediate danger threatened the Northern Department, Schuyler took a seat in the Continental Congress as a representative of the State of New York, to which he was elected in October, to the great gratification of his friends. "It is a mark of respect," James Duane wrote to him from the Manor of Livingston,

"which is due to you; and, however indifferent to you, affords your friends much satisfaction. But this is not the principal reason why I wished it. Your country requires your services." From several members of the Congress he received letters of similar tenor.

As we are now to view the life of General Schuyler as only incidentally connected with the military events of the Confederation, I shall relate, in most simple outlines, the history of those events in his State, after his resignation, until the close of the war.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The atrocities in the Wyoming Valley at the mid-summer of 1778 aroused the fiercest indignation, and the following year General Sullivan was sent into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, to chastise and humble them. He collected troops in the valley, and on the last day of July he marched up the Susquehanna, with about a thousand soldiers. At Tioga Point he met General James Clinton, who came down from the Mohawk, with about sixteen hundred men, and on the 29th of August, the combined forces fell upon a body of Indian and Tory savages at Chemung (now Elmira), and dispersed them. Sullivan then pushed forward with vigor, and penetrated the country watered by the Genesee river, the favorite abiding-place of the Senecas. He there plied the weapons of destruction with fearful activity. In the course of three weeks he destroyed forty Indian villages and a vast amount of food growing in the fields and orchards. He burnt their grain already stored for winter, cut down their fruit-trees, laid waste their productive gardens, made ashes of their dwellings, drove the inhabitants into the forests to starve, overturned their altars, trampled upon the graves of their ancestors, and a beautiful and well-watered domain, just rising from a wilderness state to a level with the most productive regions of civilization, was utterly desolated. The savages were awed for the moment, but were not crushed. The reaction bore bitter fruit the next year.

In Virginia and the Carolinas war was carried on, with varying fortunes, during 1779. Marauding British parties plundered and destroyed New England towns, and ravaged points along the coasts, while the Americans, under General Wayne, wrested from the enemy the strong post at Stony Point, and its dependencies, on the Hudson River. It was one of the most brilliant exploits of the war.

During the following year there were stirring events within the bounds of the Northern Department. The exasperated Indians began depredations early in April. They attacked the frontier settlements, and extended their operations to Minisink, in Orange county. These were followed by evidences of an impending storm of invasion. A prisoner, from Montreal, brought news, at the close of April, that extensive preparations were a-making in Canada for invading New York. In May information was received that Sir John Johnson was moving from Lake Champlain toward Johnstown, with a considerable force, and that Brant was marching on Canajoharie with a body of savages. It was said that the disaffected people were ready to rise and join the invaders.

These rumors caused wide-spread alarm. They were true. Sir John landed at Crown Point, with Tories, a few regulars and Indians, and, pushing up the valley of the Sacondaga, appeared near Johnstown on the 21st of May. His forces, divided, poured into the lower Mohawk valley, and along a line of ten miles, from Tribes' Hill, upward, they plundered, murdered and destroyed. Every man capable of bearing arms was killed. Meanwhile Sir John had recovered a quantity of treasure and plate, near his baronial hall, which a faithful slave had buried in 1776. This being the chief object of his expedition, he retraced

his steps, followed some distance by militia under Colonels Van Schaick, Vrooman and Harper. This incursion, and atrocities which soon after followed, caused the flight of hundreds of people from the Mohawk valley to Schenectady and Albany, and, for a while, the former was a frontier town.

Upon the first alarm, Governor Clinton, at Kingston, hastened forward to Fort George, with such troops as he could rally, and ordered others from Vermont to meet him at Ticonderoga. With these he pushed on to Crown Point, but Sir John was beyond his reach.

The movement of Brant was deferred for a while, and late in July he made a feigned attack upon Fort Schuyler. General Van Rensselaer, then at Stone Arabia, hastened to its relief, when Brant proceeded to fall upon the Canajoharie settlements early in August, which were the real objects of his expedition. These were mercilessly desolated. At the same time a branch of the expedition destroyed twenty houses on the Norman's Kill, in Albany county. Troops were immediately sent from Albany to protect the Mohawk valley and adjacent settlements. For a while, there was tranquillity, and the harvests were gathered.

Some Continental troops were sent for the protection of the frontiers, but these were insufficient. Marauding parties kept the inhabitants in a state of continual alarm. An extra session of the legislature of New York was convened at Poughkeepsie, on the 7th of September. The Governor laid before them the public wants; and, at the close of the month, they authorized him to call out such number of the militia as he might think proper. Brigadier-general James Clinton was assigned to the command at Albany, and was authorized to call upon Generals Ten Broeck and Van Rensselaer for assistance from their brigades.

During the winter and spring of 1780, General Schuyler's time was occupied with divided duties between Congress hall, in Philadelphia, and the camp at Morristown, where Washington had his head-quarters. He was the Commander-in-chief's most trusted counsellor and friend, to whom, alone, of all his compatriots, the latter, in closing his letters, frequently used the endearing words, "your affectionate," etc. At Morristown, where he spent much of the spring of 1780, he had his quarters at a modest house, where he enjoyed the company of his wife and daughter, Eliza, the latter a charming girl, about twenty-two years of age. Mrs. Washington was at head-quarters at that time, and she, with the wives of several of the officers in the camp, made a most agreeable society.*

* Colonel Alexander Hamilton was then a member of Washington's military family. He renewed his acquaintance with Miss Schuyler, became smitten with her charms, and a betrothal followed. His evenings were usually spent with her at her father's quarters. An interesting incident connected with these visits was related to me more than twenty years ago by Judge Ford, then owner of the house at Morristown which had been Washington's head-quarters, who was then a lad about fourteen years of age. He was a favorite with Hamilton, who, by permission of the Chief, would give him the countersign, that he might continue play at the village after the sentinels were posted for the night. On one of these occasions, he was returning home at nine o'clock in the evening, and had passed the sentinel, when he recognized the voice of Colonel Hamilton in reply to the soldier's question of "Who comes there?" He waited for the colonel to come up. Hamilton advanced to the point of the presented bayonet, to give the countersign, but had quite forgotten it. "He had spent the evening with Miss Schuyler," said Judge Ford, "and thoughts of her had undoubtedly expelled the countersign from his head."

The soldier-lover was embarrassed. He tried to summon the word from its hiding-place, but, like the faithful sentinel, who knew Hamilton, it was immovable. Just then he recognized young Ford, in the gloom. "Aye, Master Ford, is that you?" he said, in an undertone; and, stepping aside, he called the lad to him, drew his ear to his lips, and whispered, "Give me the countersign." He did so, and Hamilton, stepping in front of the soldier, delivered it. The sentinel, suspecting

Schuyler was in continual correspondence with vigilant friends in the Northern Department, who communicated every important fact in current events so accurately that he was enabled to give Washington and the Continental Congress the most useful information. He also employed, at his own expense, one or two persons in Canada to send him information of the movements of the enemy, and thereby he was enabled to give the public authorities the earliest warnings of impending danger.

At length the aspect of affairs became so threatening in the Northern Department, that, in June, he left Philadelphia for Albany, stopping on the way at Kingston, where the legislature of New York was in session. There he was detained a few days in giving them his counsel concerning measures for meeting the exigencies of a menaced invasion from Canada and from the West, of which he had been apprised, and of which the hostilities of the Indians, already begun, were the precursors. That invasion, however, was postponed until the autumn, when Schuyler, from his home at Saratoga, gave Governor Clinton timely warning.

On the 1st of October, Schuyler wrote to the Governor that he was satisfied that an invasion by way of Lake Champlain would speedily be begun. This was followed by a petition from Tryon County for relief from an attack from the westward, as it was ascertained that a considerable force, under Sir John Johnson, Colonel Butler, and Brant, had left Niagara, and were heading toward Oneida lake.

the colonel was testing his fidelity, kept his bayonet unmoved. "I have given the countersign; why do you not shoulder your musket?" Hamilton asked. "Will that do, colonel?" asked the sentinel. "It will for this time," said Hamilton; "let me pass." The soldier reluctantly obeyed the illegal command.

Meanwhile a thousand men, regulars, Tories and Indians, under Major Carleton of the British army, came up Lake Champlain, from St. John's, in eight vessels, and landed at South Bay, and on the 10th of October suddenly appeared before Fort Anne, and demanded its surrender. The weak garrison could not defend it, and it was given up, and burned. Carleton sent marauding and incendiary parties as far as Fort Edward, while he pushed on toward Fort George. On the 11th he demanded the surrender of that fort. It was given up and destroyed, and the garrisons of both posts were sent to the vessels on the lake. Another part of Carleton's expedition went through the forests, from Crown Point, to attack Schenectady, under the lead of a Tory citizen of that place, but proceeded no further than the settlement at Ballston, which they desolated. At about the same time another expedition set out from Canada, and fell upon the upper settlements of the Connecticut valley. All of these expeditions from Canada avoided doing injury to the people of the New Hampshire Grants, who, since their representative convention held at Windsor, at the beginning of 1777,* had been, through their leaders, coquetting with the British authorities in Canada, and inspiring them with a hope of detaching these patriots from their allegiance to the United States.

In the meantime the invading force from Niagara, almost a thousand strong, crossed over from Oneida Lake to the Susquehanna valley, and proceeded in the direction of the Schoharie settlements, then defended by three forts, distinguished as the Upper, Middle, and Lower. The object was the destruction of these settlements. They

* See page 186.

began their work on the morning of the 17th of October, and completed their dreadful task early in the afternoon. They unsuccessfully attacked the Middle and Lower forts, and after finishing their destructive work they withdrew and proceeded down the valley toward the Mohawk.

When intelligence of this western invasion reached Governor Clinton, he ordered General Robert Van Rensselaer to rally a sufficient force to pursue or confront the enemy. That officer acted promptly, and on the morning of October 18th he marched from Schenectady, at the same time sending couriers to Colonel John Brown,* at Fort Paris, in the Stone Arabia settlement, and to Colonel DuBois, at Fort Plain, further down the Mohawk, announcing his approach, with directions to keep the invaders in check. Whether Brown received the message, or not, is unknown. He attacked the invaders on the 19th, about a mile from the present village of Palatine Bridge, and had a severe skirmish with them, in which himself and thirty of his men were killed. The remainder fled to Fort Plain, at which place Van Rensselaer arrived about an hour after the combat. He pushed on in pursuit of the enemy, who were plundering and burning as they marched, and overtook them at about sunset, when an irregular firing began. It was kept up until dark, with loss to the marauders. The pursuit was continued the next day, but when Van Rensselaer reached Fort Herkimer, not far from Little Falls, he lost sight of the fugitives' trail. Sir John, having lost his baggage and artillery, had gone around to the south of Fort Herkimer, and made a precipitate march to Oswego. Governor Clinton had come up, and taken the chief command. He ordered pursuit, but it was soon abandoned, as hopeless.

* See page 330.

In this invasion full two hundred dwellings were burned, and one hundred and fifty thousand bushels of wheat and a large quantity of other grain and forage, with a great amount of other property, were destroyed.

Schuyler, by his vigilance and timely warnings, had saved the inhabitants from much distress. He was in continual correspondence with the Governor and military authorities, from his home at Saratoga, and offered freely for the public use whatever he possessed and was needed. "All my cattle fit for the knife," he wrote to Governor Clinton, at Albany, on the 20th of October, "are already killed, and I have sent to try and collect some more, but I fear a supply will arrive too late to push a party in pursuit of the enemy who were at Ballston. I have, however, sent to Fort Edward on the subject, but with little hopes that any will move from thence." And when the Governor returned to Poughkeepsie, after the invasion had ceased, Schuyler kept him fully informed of every important event in northern and western New York.*

At about this time the movements of the leaders in Vermont, of whom Ethan and Ira Allen were most conspicuous, excited grave suspicion of their loyalty, because of their secret correspondence with the enemy. So early as at the beginning of June, the Congress had appointed a committee to visit the Grants, and also declared the proceedings of the Vermont people subversive of the public peace and the welfare of the United States, and required the inhabitants to abstain from all acts of authority, civil or military, until a decision should be made con-

* A minute history of the events here drawn in brief outlines, may be found in a superbly-printed volume, entitled "The Northern Invasion," prepared from original papers, with an introduction and notes by Dr. Franklin B. Hough.

cerning the claims to separate and independent jurisdiction in matters of State government.

The Governor of New York was perplexed by the movement. He suspected a combination against his State, and, in a letter to James Duane, from Poughkeepsie, on the 29th of October, he intimated that, in the event of a certain contingency, the New York delegates would be withdrawn from Congress, "and the resources of the State, which have hitherto been so lavishly afforded to the Continent, be withheld for the defence of New York." He called the serious attention of Washington to the subject. The conduct of Ethan Allen was especially censured, and his motives suspected; and the Commander-in-chief issued orders to General Schuyler to arrest him, in the event of certain contingencies.* The latter shared in Clinton's apprehensions, and, on the 31st of October, he wrote to the Governor, saying:

"The conduct of some people to the eastward is alarmingly mysterious. A flag, under pretext of settling a cartel with Vermont, has been on the Grants. Allen has disbanded his militia, and the enemy, in number upward of sixteen hundred, are rapidly advancing toward us. The night before last they were at Putnam's Point. Entreat General Washington for more Continental troops, and let me beg of your Excellency to hasten up here."

The conclusion of the whole matter may be stated in few words, in the light of subsequent history. The shrewd diplomats of Vermont were working for a twofold object,

* So early as the middle of July, General Schuyler had sent two of his trusty friends, Messrs. Cuyler and Lansing (the latter, for several years, his military clerk), to Vermont, to ascertain, if possible, a correct account of the movements of Ethan Allen for some time before. They went to Bennington, put themselves in communication with proper persons there, but obtained no information derogatory to the patriotism of all his movements. Schuyler's letter of instruction to these inquirers was dated at Saratoga, the 12th of July, 1780, and their report bears date, at Albany, the 26th of July.

namely, to keep back the British and to induce Congress to admit the independence of their domain as a State of the Union, according to the ideas of State sovereignty then prevalent. In 1781, after the ratification of the *Articles of Confederation*, the Congress offered to admit it, with a considerable curtailment of its boundaries. The people refused to come in on such terms, and for ten years they remained outside of the Union. Finally, in the spring of 1791, Vermont became a member of the Union, the Congress having offered to relinquish all claims to lands in or jurisdiction over the State, on the payment of $30,000.

From the beginning to the end of the controversy between the Grants and New York and the Congress, Schuyler had been one of the most judicious and vigilant observers of the drift of public opinion in that region, and he had exerted his influence in every way to have justice accorded to the inhabitants of that domain. His correspondence on the subject with leading men was extensive, wise and conciliatory. With General Stark and his son, Major Stark, he was in frequent epistolary as well as personal communication, respecting the movements in Vermont; and his views shaped those of Washington on the subject, for the latter deferred to the judgment of Schuyler. In one of his letters to Schuyler, he wrote:

"I have received your favor of the 25th of January, inclosing the copy of your letter of the 22d of October to Major Stark, which, agreeably to your desire, I return by this conveyance. The arguments and reflections respecting the dispute of the Vermontese, made use of in that letter, appear so just and politic as to be particularly calculated to heal the unhappy disturbances, and produce a reconciliation. This is one of the many proofs you have given of your ardent desire to put a period to internal contention, and unite all the jarring interests in prosecuting the great common cause of America." *

* Autograph Letter, dated Philadelphia, February 6, 1782.

Already General Schuyler had received many proofs of the appreciation of his generous services and his nobility of character from the people of the Grants, expressed in cordial terms,* and at the same time he maintained the warmest esteem of those who were in political opposition to them, as an honest man and beneficent and righteous peace-maker.

The intention of the invasions from the north and west, just noticed, was evidently to divert attention from more important movements on the Hudson river, where General Arnold was about to consummate the foul act of treason which he had been contemplating for several months, in the betrayal of the post at West Point, and its dependencies, into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. That these invasions were undertaken simultaneously, and for a purpose more important than appeared on the surface, many circumstances make evident. Among these is a letter written to Minister Germain from Governor Haldimand, in Canada, on the 17th of September, in which he mentioned two expeditions as about to set out from that province for the invasion of New York. This was about a month before the betrayal was to take place. Neither expedition was sufficiently

* On the 26th of September, 1781, David Avery wrote to General Schuyler, from Bennington, in behalf of himself and others, concerning the establishment of a seminary of learning at that place, as follows:

"Induced by your character as a gentleman of liberal sentiments, as a lover of human kind, and as a lover of science, the Trustees of Clio Hall beg leave to address you in favor of an infant institution of learning, upon which, it is imagined, greatly depends the happiness and ornament of this rough and rude part of the country."

After mentioning the efforts which had already been made for the object, the organization of a Board of Trustees, and what had already been done, Mr. Avery said: "The object of this address is, therefore, sir, humbly to request your patronage to young Clio Hall, which looks up to you with respect and honor."—*Autograph Letter.*

strong to inspire any hope of making a permanent conquest.

The story of Arnold's treason is too familiar to historical readers to need repetition here. I will only notice a few preliminary events more immediately connected with the subject of this memoir.

When the British evacuated Philadelphia, in the spring of 1778, Arnold, whose wounded leg was not healed, was made military governor of that city. He lived extravagantly, became involved in debt, and was charged with financial irregularities in the public service, for the benefit of his own purse. He associated freely with the leading families of Philadelphia, among whom were many Tories, and he married the daughter of one of these—Edward Shippen—a beautiful girl, eighteen years of age. This marriage created uneasiness among many patriots, but Arnold's services had been too zealous, and his devotion to the cause too earnest, to allow any real suspicion of his unfaithfulness to have a permanent lodgment in the public mind.

Arnold's irregularities finally led the President and Council of Pennsylvania to prefer charges against him of fraud in the management of the public service. These charges were laid before Congress, and that body handed the whole matter over to Washington, for adjudication before a military tribunal. These proceedings chafed and greatly irritated Arnold, who declared that he was the victim of a faction. Delays followed, which he regarded as the results of subterfuges on the part of his enemies. It was not until December, 1779, that he was brought to trial. There he made an elaborate defence, in which he recited his many services, solemnly asserted his innocence of the

crimes charged against him, and as solemnly proclaimed his patriotic attachment to his country and zealous devotion to its cause. He had then been eight months engaged in secret correspondence with the enemies of that country, and was prepared, if not resolved, to embrace the first opportunity to desert and destroy it. He was found guilty of two of four charges, and sentenced to a simple reprimand by the Commander-in-chief. This was done by Washington in as delicate a manner as possible; but Arnold, who expected a triumphant acquittal, was so exasperated that he seems to have sought an immediate opportunity for revenge, at all hazards.

From that moment, Arnold's correspondence with the enemy was more active, and more definite in its object. He knew that West Point was an object of covetous desire to Sir Henry Clinton, and, through correspondence with Major André, the baronet's adjutant-general, he made preliminary arrangements for betraying that post into Sir Henry's hands. At the same time he was making the loudest professions (after a season of sullenness) of his patriotism, and expressed an ardent desire to again enter the military service in defence of his bleeding country. General Schuyler, who had suffered from the schemes of factions, and had never had the least occasion for doubting Arnold's attachment to the cause, sympathized with him, and had faith in the sincerity of his declarations. Indeed, he had stood by Arnold in all his trials, as the latter had stood by Schuyler. To the latter, therefore, Arnold looked for aid as an innocent helper in the important preliminary steps in his infamous scheme. He knew how implicitly Washington confided in Schuyler's judgment and patriotism, and to him, therefore, he made the first overtures for

reinstatement in the army. On the 25th of May, 1780, he wrote as follows to Schuyler:

"I have not had the pleasure of receiving a line from you since your arrival at camp, and know not who is to have the command on the North river. If General Heath joins the army, as I am informed he intends, that post will, of course, I suppose, fall under his command, unless some other arrangement is made, agreeable to him.

"When I requested leave of absence, of his Excellency General Washington, for the summer, it was under the idea that it would be a very inactive campaign, and that my services would be of little consequence, as my wounds made it very painful for me to walk or ride. The prospect now seems to be altered, and there is a probability of an active campaign, in which, though attended with pain and difficulty, I wish to render my country any service in my power; and, with the advice of my friends, am determined to join the army, of which I beg you will do me the favor to acquaint his Excellency General Washington, that I may be included in any arrangement that may be made."*

Arnold addressed similar letters to Robert R. Livingston and other friends in Congress, and he prevailed upon that gentleman to write to Washington and suggest the expediency of giving the writer the command of West Point. Schuyler, then in camp, joined his recommendations to those of Livingston. Arnold afterward had what seemed to be informal interviews with Washington, in camp, and the latter, as unsuspicious as Schuyler, gave the command of West Point to the blossoming traitor. Then he made his head-quarters at the house of Beverly Robinson (yet standing), opposite West Point. Early in August, and a little more than a month later, he perfected his treasonable arrangements. That treason was discovered before it was fairly ripe, and the traitor, escaping to the British lines in New York, there received the reward for his infamy.

The sixth year of the war (1780), like the fifth, was marked by varying fortunes for the struggling colonists. Sir Henry Clinton went to the Southern States early in

* Autograph Letter.

the year, with an army and fleet, and captured the city of Charleston, South Carolina, after a siege of three months. His chief lieutenants were Lords Cornwallis and Rawdon. These went out from the conquered city, with powerful forces, and overran the State. Equally powerful forces, led by Gates, DeKalb, and partisans like Marion and Sumter, opposed them, and on several occasions warm battles were fought. The extreme cruelties and other unwise conduct of the British leaders, aroused a tempest of patriotic indignation which expelled them from the State, or nearly so, the following year. In the north, meanwhile, no very important military events occurred, excepting the arrival, at Newport, Rhode Island, at midsummer, of a powerful French fleet, bearing six thousand land troops, under the Count de Rochambeau. They came to help the struggling Americans.

At the close of the year, England had spent a vast amount of blood and treasure in vain efforts to subjugate a free people, and had involved herself in war with France, Spain and Holland.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The early part of the year 1781 was the gloomiest period of the war, chiefly because of the financial embarrassments arising out of the depreciation of the paper money issued by the Congress. It had then become almost worthless, and the acts of the Congress to sustain its credit had been in vain. Happily for the country, there was a man possessing sufficient personal credit and business ability to save it from ruin, at that time. He was Robert Morris, who, in May, 1781, was appointed Superintendent of Finance, or Secretary of the Treasury, with large discretionary powers.

One of the first acts of Morris's financial government was the proposition to Congress of a plan for the establishment of a National Bank. Such an institution was immediately chartered, under the name of the Bank of North America, and was opened for business on the 1st of January, 1782. It proved to be an efficient aid in the management of the finances of the country. So admirably did Morris perform the duties of his office that the expenses of the government were greatly diminished. It had, before, cost Congress about $18,000,000 a year to carry on the war; during his administration of the finances it cost only about $5,000,000.

So soon as Morris was installed in office, he called to his aid the best men of the country. General Schuyler

was among the first to whom he applied for help. To that gentleman he wrote:

"You will probably have heard that Congress have done me the honor to bestow their confidence by appointing me to the important station of Superintendent of the Finance of North America, a station that makes me tremble when I think of it, and which nothing could tempt me to accept but a gleam of hope that my exertions may possibly retrieve this poor, distressed country from the ruin with which it is now threatened, merely from want of system and economy in expending and vigor in raising the Public Monies. Pressed by all my friends, acquaintances and fellow-citizens, and still more pressed by the *necessity*, the *absolute necessity*, of a change in our monied systems, to work salvation, I have yielded, and taken a load on my shoulders which it is not possible to get clear of without the faithful support and assistance of those good citizens who not only wish but will promote the service of their country. In this light I now make application to you, sir, whose abilities I know, and whose zeal I have every reason to believe."*

Morris then stated that General Washington was distressed by the want of flour; that there was not an unappropriated dollar in the Treasury, wherewith to purchase any, and that it would be some time before he could get his system into sufficient working order to procure funds. Under these circumstances he asked Schuyler to furnish, on a long credit, one thousand barrels of flour, saying:

"As I don't know any gentleman of such resources as yourself, you seem the most likely of all men to give assistance under the circumstances."

He added: "You may either take me as a public or private man, for I pledge myself to repay you with hard money, wholly, if required, or part hard and part paper, if you so transact the business."

In a postscript, Morris added: "Remember that I put absolute dependence on you for this one thousand barrels of flour, and it must be sent to the army directly."

Schuyler immediately complied with the Secretary's request; furnished the required amount of flour, and more; obtained liberal subscriptions to the stock of the

* Autograph Letter, May 29, 1781.

national bank, and gave to Morris such judicious suggestions concerning the management of his Department, that the latter wrote him a most cordial letter of thanks.

The war was at this time carried on chiefly in the Southern States, but the northern frontier was continually menaced with or disturbed by petty invasions and incursions from Canada, while it was with the greatest difficulty that Schuyler and his associate Commissioners kept the Indians at bay. One of these incursions, made in the summer of this year, had for its object the carrying away captive of General Schuyler, for he had ever been considered the chief obstacle in the way of the success of every expedition which had come from the north and west, from the petty marauders to the army of Burgoyne. Whoever should capture Schuyler would be sure of a rich reward.

At the time in question, Schuyler was residing at his town house, in the southern suburbs of Albany, which was continually guarded by six soldiers, for some notable abductions had recently taken place. A bold partisan, named John Walter Meyer, who was at the head of a band of Tories, Canadians and Indians, and who was well acquainted with the house of General Schuyler (for he had eaten bread at his table), was employed to capture him. He repaired to the neighborhood of Albany, where he seized a Dutch laborer, from whom he learned the precise condition of affairs at Schuyler's house; and, after exacting from him an oath of secrecy, allowed him his liberty. The Dutchman seems to have made a mental reservation, for he immediately informed Schuyler of the alarming event. A loyalist, who was the general's personal friend, also gave him warning, for he was cognizant of Meyer's designs, and Schuyler and his family were on the alert.

At the close of a sultry August day, while the general and his family were sitting in the front hall; the servants were dispersed about the premises; three of the guards, relieved from duty, were asleep in the basement, and the other three were reclining on the cool grass in the garden, a servant told the general that a stranger at the back gate desired to speak with him. Schuyler comprehended his errand. The doors were immediately closed and barred, and the family were collected in an upper room. The general ran to his bed room, for his fire-arms, when, from his window, he observed that the house was surrounded by armed men. They were Meyer and his gang. For the purpose of rousing the sentinels on the grass, and, perchance, to alarm the town, he fired a pistol from his window. Indians then burst open the doors, when, at the same moment, Mrs. Schuyler perceived that in the confusion and alarm when they retreated from the hall, her infant child, a few months old, had been left in the cradle below. She was about to fly to its rescue, when the general interposed and prevented her. Her life was more valuable than that of the babe. But her third daughter—afterward the wife of Stephen Van Rensselaer (the Patroon), of Albany—rushed down the stairs, snatched the baby from the cradle, and bore it off in safety. As she was ascending the stairs, a savage threw a sharp tomahawk at her, which slightly injured her dress, as it passed within a few inches of the infant's head and stuck in the stair-railing. At the same moment, one of the miscreants, supposing her to be a servant, called out: "Wench, wench, where is your master?" With quick presence of mind she replied, "Gone to alarm the town." The Tories, who accompanied the Indians, were then in the dining-room, plunder-

ing it of the plate and other valuables. The general then threw up his window, and, with a loud voice, as if speaking to numbers, he called out: "Come on, my brave fellows; surround the house, and secure the villains who are plundering." The marauders made a precipitate retreat, carrying with them a large quantity of silver plate. The guards had been quickly overpowered, and the three in the house were carried off as prisoners.*

The infant who was rescued at that time was Catharine Van Rensselaer, the youngest of General Schuyler's children. She died at Oswego (the latest survivor of them), on the 20th of August, 1857, the widow of Major James Cochran, son of Dr. John Cochran who was at one time Surgeon-general of the army of the Revolution.

General Schuyler received many letters congratulating him on his escape.

Washington wrote:

"I sincerely hope that you will increase your vigilance, and strengthen your guard, for I am persuaded that there is a deep-laid scheme for the seizure of your person, and that of other men in your State distinguished for their zeal in the cause of our country."†

Governor Clinton wrote from Poughkeepsie:

"I sincerely congratulate you on your fortunate escape from the villainous attempt of Meyer and his party. Your letter, advising me of it, I received on Sunday afternoon. It enabled me to prepare an account of the transaction, which I forwarded to Holt, but it was too late, it seems, for his paper, in which I find an imperfect one, previously delivered him by Mr. Peter Yates. The evening before I received your letter, I received an account by express from his Excellency, General Washington, of a party out from New York, to seize

* These men, who were off duty, were asleep in the house when the marauders came, and the latter seized their arms before the guards could get them. They fought lustily with their fists, until overpowered. When they were exchanged, the grateful and generous Schuyler gave each of them a farm in Saratoga County.

† Autograph Letter, August 19, 1781.

and deliver me there, for which they are promised a considerable reward. I have persons out to watch their motions, and am not without hopes of soon having some of them, at least, in my power. This is the third party which has been sent out on this business, and of which I have been apprised, in the course of the spring and summer, and some of them have met their fate at this place, tho' for different crimes."*

The marauders carried off their plunder from Schuyler's house to Canada, and he had some correspondence on the subject with British officers. Meyer, it seems, was an officer under Colonel St. Leger, the assailant of Fort Schuyler four years before, who wrote to General Schuyler, saying:

"I beg you to be assured that the liberties an officer and his party took with a small part of your plate gave me the greatest mortification, the intent of that scout being for very different purposes. The moment I heard of it I did everything in my power to rescue from the hands of a scoundrelly silversmith what had escaped the disfiguration of his crucible, which is now in my possession, and ought to have reached you before this, but for a blunder of a flag to Vermont."†

No portion of the plate was ever sent back to General Schuyler.‡

During the summer and autumn of 1781, General Stark, with a considerable force, was stationed at Saratoga, to watch the movements of British parties on the lakes, who were continually threatening invasion. He made his head-

* Autograph Letter, August 14, 1781.

† Autograph Letter, November 7, 1781.

‡ Major Cochran, in 1848, related to me an interesting incident connected with this booty. Among the plundered articles was a silver soup tureen. Cochran was at Washington City on the occasion of the inauguration of President Harrison, in 1841; and while in the rotunda of the Capitol, viewing Trumbull's picture of the *Surrender of Burgoyne*, a stranger at his elbow inquired, "Who is that fine-looking man in the group, in citizen's dress?" "General Schuyler," Major Cochran replied. "General Schuyler!" repeated the stranger; "why, I ate soup not long ago, at Belleville, in Canada, from a silver tureen that was carried off from his house by some Tories, in the Revolution." This was the first and only time, save the letter of St. Leger above quoted, the family ever heard of any of the plundered articles.

quarters at Schuyler's country-seat there, which was the cause of the general's residence in his town-house at that time. Mrs. Schuyler and her daughter spent a few days there in October, but, "tired of the noise of a garrison," Stark wrote, they soon returned to Albany.

At about the same time, General Schuyler entertained at his home, young Aaron Burr, then twenty-five years of age, who was introduced to the former by the following letter from General McDougall:

"This will be handed you by Lieutenant-colonel Burr, who goes to Albany to solicit license in our courts. Being a stranger in that part of the country, I beg leave by this to introduce him to you. He is a soldier, an officer, and a worthy *citizen*, and commanded the advanced corps of the army in the southernmost part of this State in the winter of 1779, during which he discharged his duty with uncommon vigilance. I am persuaded, from my knowledge of him, he will merit every attention you may think proper to show him."*

Burr obtained his license, and began the practice of law in Albany, in April, 1882.

At that time the movements at the north had become specially alarming. The enemy had crossed the lakes, and had penetrated the country almost to Fort Edward. Stark wrote for Schuyler to come up to Saratoga and give him the benefit of his counsel. He hastened thither, but the cause of alarm soon disappeared, for the invaders withdrew, and returned to Canada early in November. They had been sent by General Haldimand, to assist in separating, as far as possible, the Vermontese from the Union. That was their principal object. They were in force at Ticonderoga when the news of the surrender of Cornwallis reached that post; and, so confident was Haldimand at that time of the success of the negotiations for the annexation of Vermont to the British empire, that his design was

* Autograph Letter, October 12, 1781.

openly proclaimed in printed manifestoes, inviting the people of that State to become happy by a return to their allegiance to the British crown. Never were men more skilfully duped. "The people of the Grants," Major Stark wrote to Schuyler, "are playing a deep game." And so they were. It was also a perilous one, but they were the winners. With admirable tact, the leaders replied to the invitation, that "the news of the surrender of Cornwallis would render such a step extremely dangerous, and which was the sure way to prevent all prospect of its success." Still hoping to produce a solid defection of the dissatisfied State, the British officers withdrew their troops, and went into winter-quarters in Canada.

It has been observed that the war was carried on chiefly in the Southern States during the year 1781. Some of the most hotly-contested conflicts of the war occurred in Virginia and the Carolinas during that year; and the struggles of the colonists for independence achieved their final triumph when, on the 19th of October, 1781, Earl Cornwallis and his army were surrendered to the combined military and naval forces of the Americans and Frenchmen, under Washington, Rochambeau and De Grasse, at Yorktown, in Virginia.

That event sent great joy over the land. From every family altar where a love of freedom dwelt—from pulpits, legislative halls, the army, and from the Congress, there went up voices of thanksgiving and praise to the Lord God Omnipotent. The clouds which, for seven long years, had brooded like a pall, seemed to be breaking. The splendors of the dawn of peace began to kindle along the horizon, like the light of a clear morning after a dismal night of tempest and woe. The strong desires for peace, which the British people

had long felt, now found such potential expression, in both houses of Parliament, that the British ministry were compelled to heed it. Lord North and his compeers, who, for twelve years, had misled and misgoverned the nation, gave way under the pressure of the peace sentiment, and retired from office on the 20th of March, 1782. The advocates of peace then came into power; and, early in the following May, Sir Guy Carleton arrived in New York, with propositions for a reconciliation. Measures were immediately taken by the Congress and the British Government to arrange a treaty of peace. Commissioners were appointed by the high contracting powers, in which France, as an ally of the Americans, was included; and, on the 30th of November, 1782, a preliminary treaty was signed at Paris. A definitive treaty was signed at the same place on the 3d of September, 1783. In that treaty England acknowledged the independence of the United States; allowed ample boundaries to their domain, extending northward to the great lakes, and westward to the Mississippi river, and an unlimited right of fishing on the banks of New Foundland. At the same time England made peace with France, Spain and Holland.

Preparations were speedily made for carrying the treaty into effect. The first step must be the departure of British troops from the soil of the United States. The city of New York was their last tarrying place. On the 15th of November, Washington wrote as follows to General Schuyler, from Poughkeepsie:

"It gives me great pleasure to inform you that Sir Guy Carleton [who was in command at New York] has announced to me his intention to relinquish the posts he holds on York Island, from Kingsbridge to McGowan's Pass, inclusive, on the 21st instant; Herrick's and Hempstead, and all to the eastward on Long Island, on the same day; and, if

possible, to give up the city, with Brooklyn, on the day following; and Paulus' Hook [Jersey City], Denyce's [Harlem River], and Staten Island, as soon after as practicable.

"From this disposition, I have great hopes that, in case no accident should happen, I shall have it in my power to congratulate you on the full possession of this State by its government before the close of the present month."*

On the 3d of November, the Continental army, by order of the Congress, was disbanded. A small force was retained, under a definite enlistment, until a peace establishment should be organized. These were now at West Point, under the command of General Knox.

The final evacuation of the British troops occurred on the 25th of November, 1783. On the morning of that day—a cold, frosty, brilliant morning—the American troops, under Knox, who had come down from West Point and encamped at Harlem, marched toward the city, and halted at the upper end of the Bowery Lane (present junction of Third and Fourth avenues), where they remained until about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the British marched to Whitehall, and embarked. Then the troops, with Washington at their head, accompanied by Governor Clinton and chief officers of State, marched into and took formal possession of the city. On the 4th of December, the Commander-in-chief, at his quarters on the corner of Broad and Pearl streets, in New York, took a final farewell of his officers and other compatriots; and on the 23d of the same month, at Annapolis, in Maryland, where the Congress was then in session, he resigned his commission to that body, from whom he had received it, and retired to private life at Mount Vernon.

In all of these closing scenes of the old war for independence, excepting the last, General Schuyler was a con-

* Autograph Letter.

spicuous actor. He had stood by Washington and his country when the perils of a serious mutiny seemed to threaten both, in the spring of 1783—a menace of revolt, which was doubtless inspired by the jealous Gates; and he was with Washington in the camp, at Newburgh, when the Chief, by the mere force of his moral character, crushed the serpent. Washington had already rebuked a proposition to make him King by the force of the army, in imitation of the old Roman method.

The discontents of the army were very great at that time, because of delay in the payment of their wages. The Treasury had been empty for some time. Neither officers nor soldiers had received any pay for their services for a very long period, and there seemed a prospect of their being discharged and sent home, ragged and penniless. There were men foolish enough to believe that the grand old army would, under the pressure of such circumstances, sully their honor by turning their bayonets against their government. Their patriotism was sorely tried, and was not found wanting. Ably composed anonymous addresses, written by an accomplished aid of General Gates, were circulated throughout the camp at Newburgh, in March, 1783, which advised that army to take matters into their own hands, make a demonstration that should arouse the fears of the people and the Congress, and so obtain justice for themselves. For this purpose a meeting of officers was called. Washington took the direction of it, and was present at the gathering. Doubtless suspecting that Gates had a hand in the matter, he requested that officer to preside, as he was the senior in rank. As the Chief arose to read an address which he had prepared for the occasion, he put on his spectacles, and said: "You see, gentlemen, that I have

not only grown *gray*, but *blind*, in your service." The remark had a powerful effect upon the assemblage; and when he had concluded reading a most earnest appeal to their judgment and their patriotism, and a scathing rebuke of the movement, in which he said: "My God! what can this writer have in view by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army?—can he be a friend to this country? Rather is he not an insidious foe—some emissary, perhaps, from New York—plotting the ruin of both by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent?" there seemed to be but one mind among the officers present. They immediately passed resolutions, among which was one that declared their unbroken confidence in the good faith of Congress, and their determination to bear with patience their grievances, until, in due time, they should be redressed.*

* Another resolution thus expressed the feelings of the assembly:

"*Resolved unanimously*, That the officers of the American army view with abhorrence and reject with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army, and resent with indignation the secret attempts of some unknown persons to collect the officers together in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order."

"Never, through all the war," Schuyler wrote, "did his Excellency achieve a greater victory than on this occasion—a victory over jealousy, just discontent and great opportunities. The whole assembly were in tears at the conclusion of his address. I rode with General Knox to his quarters in absolute silence, because of the solemn impression on our minds. I have no doubt that posterity will repeat the closing words of his Excellency's address—'Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.'"—Autograph Letter to Stephen Van Rensselaer, March 17, 1783.

CHAPTER XXV.

When the government of the State of New York was organized, in the summer of 1777, four senatorial districts were defined, and known as the southern, middle, eastern and western. Each district was represented by a number of senators, in proportion to its population. The whole number was twenty-four. The constitution provided for an increase of numbers whenever the number of electors of any district should increase one twenty-fourth, until the whole number should reach one hundred.

In 1780, General Schuyler was elected a senator from the western district, comprising the counties of Albany, Tryon (changed to Montgomery, in 1784), and Ontario. The number of senators for the district was six. His colleagues were Jellis Fonda, Jacob G. Klock, Rinier Mynderse, Abraham Ten Broeck, and Abraham Yates, Jr. He first took his seat, at Poughkeepsie, on the 7th of September, 1780, and he continued to faithfully and ably represent his constituents in that body until the seventh session of the Senate, which ended at the city of New York, on the 12th of May, 1784. He was again in that body from the beginning of the ninth session, in 1786, until the end of its thirteenth session in April, 1790, when he was transferred to the Senate of the United States. He was in the State Senate again at the fifteenth session, at the

beginning of 1792, and remained a member of that body until the close of its twentieth session, in April, 1797.

Early in his senatorial career, Schuyler still held the important post of Chairman of the Board of Commissioners for Indian Affairs and also that of Surveyor-general of the State of New York.* His duties in each of these positions were arduous and delicate. In that of the former he was often called upon to act as umpire between the white people and the Indians; for, in the military incursions into the country of the latter during the war, discoveries were made of rich lands unbroken by cultivation, and desires to possess them filled the minds and hearts of many men of wealth and enterprise.

The Oneidas and Tuscaroras, who occupied the frontiers of the white settlements, had been the fast friends of the colonies all through the stormy period of the war, and

* General Schuyler was appointed Surveyor-general of the State of New York in February, 1782; and, at Poughkeepsie, on the 9th of March, he took the following oath, preliminary to receiving his commission:

"I, Philip Schuyler, do solemnly and sincerely swear, on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that I have not, either by myself or by any other person for me or in my behalf, directly or indirectly purchased from any officer, non-commissioned officer or private soldier, or from any other person or persons whatsoever, any certificate or certificates granted for pay or depreciation of or on pay, or any right or rights to such certificates in any wise whatsoever, directly or indirectly. Nor have I, by myself or by any other person for me or in my behalf, directly or indirectly purchased any lands or tenements from any commissioner or commissioners authorized or appointed to sell any of the lands confiscated to this State, under whatsoever law such commissioners may have been appointed or have acted, or under whatever name such commissioners may be or have been known, since the commencement of the present war with Great Britain to this day; nor have I purchased, by myself or by any other person, any such certificates as aforesaid, or any lands or tenements as aforesaid, from any person whatsoever. So help me God."

every consideration of justice demanded that the public authorities of the State should deal generously with their late allies, and take no lands from them without their full consent, and upon payment of a satisfactory price.

In such a just arrangement the services of General Schuyler were very conspicuous. By a compact which he negotiated, the extension of New York settlements westward was checked by a line passing along the eastern border of the present Broome county, and up the Unadilla to its source, and thence on a direct line to a point on Wood Creek, about seven miles west of Rome, or Fort Schuyler. This was known as the *Line of Property.* It was established as the boundary of the Indian lands, and no settlement could be formed beyond it without a formal cession by its acknowledged owners. Beyond this line dwelt the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, who had been enemies of the colonies, and were still warmly attached to the British interests.*

The first Constitution of the State of New York forbade any purchase of lands from the Indians, except by commissioners acting under the authority and in behalf of the State. The first State commissioners were appointed in 1779, but the first efficient step taken by them toward procuring a cession of lands for the purposes of settlement was not made until 1783. Their first treaty was held at Fort Schuyler, in September, 1784, at which, by appointment of the Governor, General Schuyler and other leading gentlemen assisted the State Commissioners.†

* See "Introduction to Proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in the extinguishment of Indian titles in the State of New York," by FRANKLIN B. HOUGH, M. D.

† These commissioners, appointed by the Council of Revision—persons appointed to revise all bills passed by the Legislature, to prevent unconstitutional acts—were Abraham Cuyler, Peter Schuyler, and Henry Glen.

To the end of his days, Schuyler was the just friend of the Indian race, and was honored and beloved by all of them who came within the circle of friendly relations with him.

From the inauguration of the new government under the Articles of Confederation, in the spring of 1781, General Schuyler watched with keenest anxiety the jealousies of sections, and with real alarm the more definite jealousies of the State legislatures, evinced in their distrust of the Congress and the withholding of their support in the efforts of that body to sustain the public credit. At a very early date he predicted the utter failure of the Confederation as a national system, and he warmly seconded all efforts to give strength to the general government, whereby it might command the respect of the nations. And, while the Confederation was under advisement, he had favored several movements toward that end made by some of the States, since 1776, chiefly because their principal object had been a concentration of power, by coöperation, for carrying on the war and providing for the payment of the debt incurred thereby, at its close. The States, as well as the Congress, had been freely issuing bills of credit; and, from 1777, these had been fearfully decreasing in specie value, until what at first promised to be the right-arm of strength to the struggling colonists, threatened to be the instrument of their ruin.

One of the conventions above alluded to was held in Boston in August, 1780. Only three New England States, namely, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire, were represented. The main object of the convention was to place the currency of the country on a solid and uniform basis, but they also took broader views in the contempla-

tion of the future. They declared that it was all-essential to the promotion of the power and prosperity of the country "that the Union of these States be fixed in a more solid and permanent manner; that the powers of Congress be more clearly ascertained and defined; and that the important national concerns of the United States be under the superintendency and direction of one supreme head."

This was a movement toward nationality which Schuyler hailed with joy; yet it was much short of what he wished, in its scope and tendency. He earnestly desired a national convention to decide upon some positive measures for that kind of centralization seen in our National Constitution, which should make the Congress the supreme head of the Republic. So earnest were his convictions, and so urgent were his arguments, that he inspired the active mind of his son-in-law, Alexander Hamilton,* with that ardor for such centralization which ever afterward distinguished him. During the winter and spring of 1780, Hamilton had frequent and sometimes daily personal intercourse with Schuyler; and it became of that familiar and affectionate nature on the part of the general, which a father, satisfied with his daughter's choice of a husband, would naturally evince toward the object of that choice. Hamilton had heard the wise suggestions and powerful logic from Schuyler, and observed the keen interest which the patriot felt in the convention at Boston; and he appears to have been first fairly aroused to a sense of the absolute necessity of a thoroughly national govern-

* Hamilton was married to Elizabeth, the second daughter of General Schuyler, on the 14th of December, 1780. Brissot described her as "a charming woman, who joins to the graces all the candor and simplicity of an American wife."

ment by the zeal and enthusiasm with which his future father-in-law commended the political action of that convention. So inspired, his great mind seemed to grasp the whole subject at once, and, in a letter to James Duane, in the Congress, written early in September, he gave such a clear and profound exposition of his opinions, that the remarkable phenomenon was exhibited of a young man, twenty-three years of age, expressing well-defined and comprehensive views of the situation and wants of the States, and of the practicability of forming a government adapted to the peculiar condition, resources and exigencies of those commonwealths. "He had wrought out for himself a political system far in advance of the conceptions of his cotemporaries."*

At about the time when Hamilton wrote to Duane, Schuyler, as chairman of the committee of the Senate of the State of New York, to whom the proceedings of the Boston Convention had been referred, made a report, in which he said:

"We perceive the defects in the present system, and the necessity of a supreme and coercive power in the government of these States, and are persuaded that unless Congress are authorized to direct, uncontrollably, the operations of war, and enabled to enforce a compliance with their requisitions, the common force can never be properly united."

Another convention of States, to meet at Hartford, had been called, and Schuyler wrote to Hamilton, the day after the submission of his report to the Senate:

"Some here are for appointing a Dictator and Vice-Dictators, as if it was a thing already determined on. To the convention to be held at Hartford I believe I shall be sent, with instructions to propose that a Dictator should be appointed."

* "History of the Constitution of the United States," by George Ticknor Curtis, i. 415.

Schuyler was opposed to this scheme. Hamilton pronounced it a "mad project." Governor Clinton, also, opposed it. The resolution was not adopted; but, by a joint resolution, the delegates were authorized to "propose and agree in the convention to all such measures as shall appear calculated to give a vigor to the governing powers, equal to the present crisis."

The delegates chosen were Philip Schuyler, John Sloss Hobart and Egbert Benson. The Legislature clothed them with still more important powers, after this appointment, by instructing them "to propose and agree that Congress, during the present war, or until a perpetual confederation shall be completed, should be expressly authorized and empowered to exercise every power which they may deem necessary for the effectual prosecution of the war." They were also directed to propose that whenever it should appear to Congress that any State was deficient in its contributions, that body should "direct the Commander-in-chief, without delay, to march the army, or such part of it as may be requisite, into such State, and, by military force, compel it to furnish its deficiency." This would destroy State sovereignty, if it ever existed (which it did not), and the independence of the States. The convention resulted in no effective action, but was followed, a few months later, by the ratification by all the States of the "Articles of Confederation," as the organic law of the league of American commonwealths, which the Congress had adopted in November, 1777.

The terms of that league perpetuated the vital defects and inherent weakness which had distinguished the national government all through the war, and which Schuyler and others had deplored; and they saw no hopes for

the future under that system. The first efforts of that government, in which the power to perform the most important acts of sovereignty was held by thirteen State legislatures, most conspicuously revealed its impotence. It asked for power to levy taxes, as a basis for sustaining the public credit. It was refused. "It is *money*, not *power*," said the refusing States, "that ought to be the object. The former will pay our *debts*, the latter may destroy our *liberties*."

The League was equally unfortunate in their attempts to establish commercial relations with other governments. They did not represent a *nation;* only a weak *league*, and were treated accordingly. They were regarded with contempt. "If the American States choose to send consuls, receive them," said Lord Sheffield, in a formidable pamphlet, in which he spoke of the States as only dismembered portions of the British empire, which would soon be seeking restoration. "Each State," he continued, "will soon enter into all necessary regulations with the consul, and this is the whole that is necessary." In other words, "the League has no dignity above that of a fifth-rate power."

England haughtily refused to comply with some of the most important stipulations of the treaty of peace, and, in February, 1784, when an open rupture between the United States and Great Britain seemed imminent, John Adams was sent to England, as the representative of the League. He was treated with coldness, and his propositions for commercial reciprocity were rejected with scorn. Believing his mission to be useless, Mr. Adams returned home, disgusted with the enforced weakness of his country.

Meanwhile matters were growing infinitely worse in

the United States. The war had exhausted the people, and poverty was widespread. Debt weighed down all classes, and taxation was repugnant. The States more and more assumed attitudes of sovereignty. New Confederacies were contemplated, and rebellion was rife.* There were doubt and confusion and perplexity on every side, and society seemed to be about to dissolve into its original elements. There was a feverish excitement in the public mind concerning the future, destructive of all confidence, and ruinous to enterprise of every kind.

In a consultation of patriots, in the library at Mount Vernon, Washington suggested a convention of delegates, to make arrangements of a commercial nature over which the Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, had no control. That suggestion, made in the year 1785, beamed out upon the surrounding darkness like a ray of morning light. It seemed to General Schuyler like the dawning of a long wished-for day—of emancipation for his country from the thrall of factions in sectional legislatures, and the growth of a healthful national spirit, for which he had longed most earnestly. His distinguished son-in-law had worked incessantly, with the same end in view. He published many able essays on the subject; and, in the summer of 1782, had succeeded in bringing it before the Legislature of New York, which, on the 21st of July, in a series of resolutions, recommended the "assembling of a

* Virginia stoutly resisted all attempts at centralization, and stood firmly upon the principles of State Sovereignty. So, also, did Pennsylvania, and, immediately after the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, General Schuyler proposed a confederation of all the States eastward of the Delaware, under the general title of the State of Columbia. He afterward, as we shall observe presently, reiterated his proposition for a national confederacy, or a consolidated nation.

general convention of the United States, specially authorized to revise and amend the Confederation, reserving the right to the respective Legislatures to ratify their determination." In the spring of the next year, Hamilton, in a debate in Congress, expressed an earnest desire for a general convention. The subject was a theme for the pens of Thomas Paine, Pelatiah and Noah Webster, and others, in 1784. The propositions were all of a political nature, which the public authorities were not prepared to adopt; but Washington's proposition for a *commercial* convention was favorably received, and, in September, 1786, five States were represented in a convention, which assembled at Annapolis, in Maryland.* A desire seemed to prevail generally among thinking men for the convention to take a broader field of consideration than commerce. And so they did. They recommended the several States to call another convention in May following, and prepared a letter to the Congress, in which the defects of the Articles of Confederation were set forth. This was followed, early in 1787, by a recommendation of Congress for a national convention, to be held at Philadelphia, in May following; not for the regulation of commerce, but for the revision of the Articles of Confederation—in other words, for the reconstruction of the national government. This recommendation brought forth an expression of the views of many thoughtful men on the subject. Among these was a long letter from General Schuyler to Henry Van Schaack, dated

* The following are the names of the representatives: *New York*—Alexander Hamilton, Egbert Benson. *New Jersey*—Abraham Clarke, William C. Hueston. *Pennsylvania*—Tenche Coxe, James Schureman. *Delaware*—George Read, John Dickinson, Richard Bassett. *Virginia*—Edmund Randolph, James Madison, jr., St. George Tucker.

at New York, the 13th of March, 1787, in which, after giving a detailed account of the proceedings of the Legislature of New York in reference to the recommendation of Congress, he wrote:

"But, short-sighted as I am, it is no encomium on my penetration if I declare that, having attentively considered the present Confederation soon after it was promulgated, it struck me as totally inadequate to its object. The observations I made in the progress of the late war, the opportunities I had, in my public character, of experiencing its weakness, confirmed and strengthened the opinion I had formed of its inefficiency. I was seriously alarmed. I feared lest the dissolution [of the Union] during the war would have enabled Britain to subjugate this country. This apprehension became infinitely painful to my mind. I resolved on expedients to prevent the dire calamity. I beheld, with chagrin, that the politicians of this State seldom, if ever, drew with those of the Eastern States. I wished to eradicate the injurious jealousy which prevailed between them and us."*

General Schuyler gave an outline of a plan of government, in which

"An Executive should be triennially appointed; a Senate and Assembly, the seats of one-third of each annually to become vacant; the Executives, as well as Representatives in the Senate and Assembly, to be reëligible; and this Legislature to legislate for all the States, under one common appellation, as, for instance, the State of Columbia, leaving the several States, or rather provinces, forming the State of Columbia, their legislatures, for the purpose of making road-acts and others, for the more orderly government of their internal affairs; also allowing to each a judicial, to preside in the courts for trying causes between *meum* and *tuum;* but all taxes and all laws to be in the name of the

* General Schuyler had, by his exercise of justice toward the New England States, as a commissioner to determine territorial boundaries, won the thorough respect of the people of those States. From October, 1773, until July, 1787, he had been a member of a commission to settle the boundary between the States of New York and Massachusetts. His colleagues, when that boundary was settled, in the summer of 1787, were Gerard Bancker and Simeon De Witt. The Massachusetts commissioners were Timothy Edwards, Samuel Williams and Theodore Sedgwick. The commissioners appointed by Congress to act with the State Commissioners, were John Ewing, David Rittenhouse, and Thomas Hutchins. The final report, defining the boundary, is in the handwriting of General Schuyler, and is signed by him and all of the gentlemen above named.

Legislature of Columbia. In short, that the Legislature of Columbia should be to the States what the British Parliament is to the counties of England.

"I conceive," Schuyler continued, "that if any federal government is established with less stability and power than this, it will be inadequate, not only to oppose an enemy, but to prevent internal commotions; and, if so, must, sooner or later, give way to perhaps a chance government, which may be a despotism, arbitrary monarchy, aristocracy, or, what is still worse, oligarchy.

"I dread a dissolution of all union. Immediate quarrels between the States will ensue. These quarrels will beget armies; these armies a conqueror, and this conqueror may give us such a government as prevails at Constantinople. Certainly, in such a case, we cannot hope for a better than that which France groans under. Let us, therefore, seriously strive to obtain such a government as will secure to us that degree of liberty which is consistent with the social state; not that degree which empowers part of the community, uncontrolled, to injure the whole. That is licentiousness."*

The recommendation of Congress for a national convention was heeded; and, on the 14th of May, 1787, a convention of representatives from twelve States assembled in Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, to consider and amend the Articles of Confederation. The State of New York was represented by Robert Yates, John Lansing, jr., and Alexander Hamilton. Lansing had been Schuyler's confidential clerk during the general's military career, and Hamilton, as we have observed, was his son-in-law.

The representatives were tardy in assembling, and it was not until the 25th that seven States (the requisite number to form a quorum) had delegates at Philadelphia. Then George Washington was chosen to preside over the convention, and William Jackson was appointed their secretary. The ablest men in the several States were there, sixty in number on the roll.

It was soon found that the existing government was too weak for amendments to give it strength, and so it was

* Autograph Letter.

cast aside, and the convention proceeded in the construction of an entirely new system. Their debates were earnest, dignified and patriotic in tone. They finished their labors late in September. On the 10th of that month all the articles of the new Constitution, upon which they had agreed, were referred to a committee for arrangement and a revision of the style. That labor was chiefly performed by Gouverneur Morris, of the committee. By a carefully worded resolution, adopted on the 28th of September, the convention recommended the Congress to lay the new Constitution before the *people* (not the *States*), and ask them, *the source of all sovereignty*, to ratify or reject it.*

The result of the labors of that convention caused intense feeling throughout the land. The doctrine of State supremacy found a host of able advocates, with numerous followers, and they vehemently opposed the new Constitution, because it would actually reduce the States to the condition of municipalities. On the other hand, a still larger number of able advocates were found, with a corresponding retinue of adherents, who saw that in the new Constitution were centred all their hopes for a stable and strong national government, that would enable the United States to take a conspicuous and honorable place in the family of nations, and they advocated its adoption. These were then called Federalists, and the opposers of the Constitution were called Anti-Federalists.

* The following is a copy of that resolution:

"*Resolved unanimously*, That the said report [of the Convention to the Congress], with the resolutions and letters accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several Legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each State by the people thereof in conformity to the resolves of the Convention made and provided in that case."

In no State in the Union did these opposing sentiments more distinctly crystallize into opposing parties than in the State of New York, where Schuyler, Hamilton and Jay were the acknowledged leaders of the Federalists. The last two, with Madison, of Virginia, who, with Washington, sympathized with the Federalists, at once put forth some of the ablest essays ever written upon the subject of constitutional and representative government, and all in favor of the newly-formed organic law of the land. These essays, collected, form that admirable work known in the political literature of our country as "The Federalist." Robert R. Livingston and his family connections, and also the Van Rensselaers, were all on the side of the Federalists; and these men, with their own and their family influence, proved a power in the State.

Schuyler had been most conspicuous in the State Senate, in efforts to induce the Legislature of New York to give to the Congress the sole power to collect and disburse the impost revenues of the country. This measure he had strongly urged, on every proper occasion, and never more strenuously than in 1786 and 1787. Hamilton, in the Assembly, as strenuously urged the same measure, and they were the acknowledged leaders of the two houses. Around these men the Federalists, in and out of the Legislature, rallied.

The Anti-Federalists of New York were led by that staunch patriot, George Clinton, who had then been Governor of the State more than ten years. He had a powerful hold upon the affections of the people. His ablest political associates were Robert Yates, afterward Chief-Justice of New York; John Lansing, jr., who was also a Chief-Justice and Chancellor of the State; Samuel Jones, who became Controller; and the very able Melancthon

Smith. Yates and Lansing, as we have seen, were members of the National Convention at Philadelphia, but withdrew from it, leaving Hamilton to bear all the honor of placing his State among the subscribers to the new Constitution. Such were the chief leaders of parties in the State of New York, who fought the political battles preceding the ratification of the National Constitution.

Governor Clinton was vehemently opposed to the new organic law, which would deprive him of much of the power and dignity which he possessed; and political writers of the day more than insinuated that personal ambition and a love of that power had a controlling influence in inducing the Governor to oppose the adoption of that instrument. Be that as it may, it is a singular fact that in his message to the Legislature, at the beginning of January, 1788, when the new Constitution had long been published, and had been not only referred to the several legislatures, but was a cause of much anxiety in the public mind, he made no allusion to the subject.

On the 17th of January, Mr. Egbert Benson, a delegate from Duchess county, brought the subject before the Legislature, by offering a resolution that a convention should be called, to be composed of members elected by the people, to act upon the new Constitution. Such election was held in the spring of that year, which resulted in the choice of sixty-five gentlemen who represented fourteen counties of the State of New York. Poughkeepsie, the shire-town of Duchess county, was chosen as the place for the convention to be held, and at the court-house in that village the delegates were assembled on the 17th of June, 1788. Governor Clinton was appointed to preside over their deliberations, which continued until near

the close of July. The leading debaters in that Convention were Alexander Hamilton and Robert R. Livingston, on the Federal side, and Melancthon Smith on the Anti-Federal side.

That Convention was composed of some of the ablest men in the State. The city of New York was represented by John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, Chancellor Livingston, Richard Morris (then Chief-Justice), and James Duane, then mayor of the city. Albany was ably represented. Governor Clinton was chosen from Ulster county, and his brother, General James Clinton, from the county of Orange. Melancthon Smith was a representative from Duchess, and was regarded by Hamilton as his most formidable opponent.

It was found, at the beginning, that a large portion of the delegates were opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, unless it should be materially altered. For three weeks the discussion continued. The various articles of the instrument were carefully considered, and several amendments were proposed. A proposition was made by the Anti-Federalists that the Constitution should be ratified on the condition that certain specified amendments should be made. On this point, General Schuyler, who was in attendance upon the Convention as an anxious spectator, and exerted his influence in favor of the Constitution, wrote from Poughkeepsie to his friend, Henry Van Schaack, as follows:

"I have deferred an answer to your letter, in the hopes that I should have been able to afford you some precise communications of the intention of the convention assembled at this place, but, hitherto, no room has been given to speak with certainty on that head, except only that they will not absolutely reject the Constitution. They talk of conditional adoption, if such amendments shall be previously made as

they intend to propose. The Anties do not seem inclined to make much speed in the business. They probably wish to learn the result of Virginia's convention; and, from accounts conveyed by some of our friends, of the 13th instant, from Richmond, the event is very problematical. Should Virginia reject, I fear the Anties will follow their example."*

Early in July, events changed the aspect of the question at issue in the Convention. News reached them, officially, that the people of New Hampshire and Virginia had ratified the Constitution. This gave the requisite number of States to make that instrument the organic law of the land. It was no longer a question whether the people of New York preferred the old Articles of Confederation to the New Constitution, but whether they should secede from the Union; and, on motion of the Federalists, it was "*Resolved*, That the Constitution be ratified, in full confidence that the amendments proposed by this Convention will be adopted." When the final vote was taken, fifty-seven delegates were present, exclusive of the President, of whom *thirty* voted for ratification, and *twenty-seven* voted against it. That momentous decision was made on the 26th of July. "Thus perseverance, patience and abilities prevailed against numbers and prejudice," General Schuyler wrote.†

To the above-cited resolution were annexed a Bill of Rights and recommendatory amendments. A circular letter was drawn up by Mr. Jay, addressed to the people of the other States of the Union, requesting them to coöperate with New York, by means of a convention to be called for that purpose, for the adoption of the amendments which the New York Convention had annexed to their rat-

* Autograph Letter, June 24, 1788.

† Autograph Letter to Henry Van Schaack.

ification. This was read and approved, and subscribed by all the members present.

The Federalists of Albany, on receiving the news that the requisite number of States, in convention assembled, had ratified the Constitution, appointed a day to celebrate the event. On that day they formed a procession, and began a march through the principal streets, led by General Schuyler and his son-in-law, Stephen Van Rensselaer. The Anti-Federalists came together on the same day, when inflammatory speeches were made, and the Constitution was burnt. Both parties were greatly excited, and, on meeting in Green street, the Anti-Federalists disputed the passage of their opponents, with a cannon which they had charged with pebbles and gravel. Some of the more moderate of the Anti-Federalists, in order to prevent such an outrage, had, without the knowledge of their political friends, spiked the cannon, and so made it harmless. But a serious affray occurred. Its gravity was heightened by the fact that some of the military Federalists, to give more pomp to the occasion, appeared in martial dress, with swords, guns and bayonets. The Anti-Federalists threw stones and bricks, and their opponents used their weapons. Some were badly wounded, but none were fatally injured.*

With the birth of the Nation, in the spring of 1789, when a new Congress assembled, clothed with sovereign powers by the new Constitution, there was a new revelation to mankind. It was perceived that the United States had suddenly become a power in the world—a *Nation*—and were no longer a weak *League of States*, jealous of each other and of the general government. Great Britain has-

* Hammond's "History of Political Parties in the State of New York," i. 20.

tened to send a minister-plenipotentiary to her peer, and asked for that commercial reciprocity which she had so scornfully refused only five years before. France, Holland and Spain sent diplomats to the new government, and the Republic of the West took its place among the leading nations of the globe. Then was realized the prophetic dream of Bishop Berkeley, shadowed in the line:

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way."

CHAPTER XXVI.

After the organization of the national government under the new Constitution, and the unanimous election of General Washington to the presidency of the Republic, there was a remarkable lull in party strife. For a moment, the disputes about the principles contained in the Constitution almost ceased, and there seemed to be a general disposition, not only to acquiesce in the new order of things, but to give a hearty support to the government. This disposition was observed, not only in the State of New York, but throughout the Union. A few days after the ratification of the Constitution, at Poughkeepsie, Judge Yates, who had opposed it in the National and State conventions, said, in his charge to the grand jury, at Albany:

"Before the Constitution was ratified, I had been opposed to it; it is now mine and every other man's duty to support it."

And a few days after his inauguration as President, in the spring of 1789, Washington wrote to General Schuyler:

"The good dispositions which seem at present to pervade every class of people, afford reason for your observation* that the clouds which have long darkened our political hemisphere are now dispersing, and that America will soon feel the effects of her natural advantages. That invisible hand which has so often interposed to save our country from impending destruction, seems in no instance to have

* General Schuyler had written a letter to Washington, on the 2d of May, 1789, congratulating him on his accession to the Presidency, and expressing his hearty good wishes for the success of his administration.

been more remarkably exerted than in that of disposing the people of this extensive continent to adopt, in a peaceable manner, a Constitution which, if well administered, bids fair to make America a happy nation."*

But this serenity was only like the ominous calm which frequently precedes a more furious outburst of the storm. It was not long before party strife became more violent than ever throughout the country, and especially in the State of New York, where party lines were sharply drawn. General Schuyler, Mr. Jay and Colonel Hamilton were the chief leaders of the Federal party in that State, and they had great influence with Washington. Schuyler and Hamilton were uncompromising partisans, as all men of strong moral convictions are apt to be, and they induced the President to bestow government patronage upon men who were, either personally or politically, opposed to Governor Clinton. Jay was appointed Chief-Justice of the United States; James Duane, Judge of the District of New York; Richard Harrison, United States Attorney; and William S. Smith, Marshal. These men were all active opponents of Governor Clinton. Hamilton, who was the soul of the Federal party, was called to a seat in Washington's cabinet, as Secretary of the Treasury.

The form of government embodied in the first Constitution of the State of New York was less Democratic than that of any other State, and placed an immense amount of power and patronage in the hands of the Governor. With this advantage, Governor Clinton and his friends were enabled to carry on a political warfare successfully for a long time, against the Federalists. But the Constitution afforded a check upon an undue exercise of that power, when bearing upon the control of offices, by a provision

* Autograph Letter, May 9, 1789.

for a Council of Appointment. That Council was created by the choice of the Assembly out of each Senatorial district, of one Senator each year, and these, with the Governor, formed the Council of Appointment. The Governor had a right to give a casting vote, but had no vote for any other purpose. He was ex-officio President of the Council, and was required, "with the advice and consent of the Council, to appoint all officers," whose appointment was not otherwise provided for by the Constitution. All civil and military officers from the heads of departments, Chancellor and Judges of the Supreme Court, down to and including all Justices of the Peace and auctioneers, with the exception of the State Treasurer and a few petty city and town officers, were appointed by the Governor, for he claimed and exercised the exclusive right of nomination.

General Schuyler was made a member of the Council of Appointment first in January, 1786. No Senator being eligible for two years consecutively, he was succeeded, in 1787, by Peter Schuyler. He was again a member of that Board in 1778, and again in 1790, and exercised a controlling influence there. His associates in 1788 were Jacob Swartwout, David Hopkins and Lewis Morris, a majority of whom were Federalists.

In December, 1788, the two houses of the Legislature of New York elected five delegates to represent the State in the Continental Congress, which was to expire on the fourth of March following. Party lines were sharply drawn, and Abraham Yates, Jr., David Gelston, Philip Pell, John Hathorn and Samuel Jones, all Anti-Federalists, were chosen. The vote was so close that it evinced a large Federal gain in the Legislature. The two houses could not agree on the method of choosing United States Senators,

and the State of New York was not represented in the higher branch of the National Congress at its first session; but the following year General Schuyler and Rufus King, both Federalists, were chosen to a seat in that body.

Afterward, Presidential electors were chosen, and the Legislature having provided for the election of six Representatives in the lower House of Congress, Egbert Benson, William Floyd, John Hathorn, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer and Peter Sylvester were elected the first members from New York, under the present Constitution.

Politics in New York now became mixed, and General Schuyler was one of the most active partisans on the Federalist's side. That party determined to form a coalition for the purpose of breaking the Anti-Federal ascendency, and they induced Robert Yates, an Anti-Federalist, to accept the nomination for Governor, in opposition to Clinton. Alexander Hamilton, Robert Troup, William Duane and Aaron Burr (the latter then becoming prominent as a shrewd and able politician, of easy political virtue), with others, formed a committee of correspondence, to promote the election of Yates. That gentleman hesitated awhile, because of the seeming inconsistency in which the course proposed would involve him, but his patriotic expression in his charge to the Grand Jury of Albany, already cited, was pointed to as a justification. A letter, written by General Schuyler and signed by him, General Tenbroeck, Philip Livingston and others, urging Yates to accept the nomination, caused that acceptance. Mr. Yates was not a pleasant pill for the staunch Federalists to swallow. They did so for a specific purpose, but the coalition was unsuccessful, and Clinton was elected by a handsome majority. The election took place in April, and, on the 19th of July,

the Legislature, by joint resolution, appointed General Schuyler and Rufus King, United States Senators. In January following [1790], General Schuyler was again chosen to be a member of the Council of Appointment. So, at the same time, he held three distinct public offices, namely: State Senator, United States Senator, and one of the Council of Appointment. Not long after his acceptance of the latter office, the Legislature perceived that it was incompatible with the National Constitution for him to hold seats in both Senates, and that occupied by him in the Senate of his State was declared vacant. This raised the question of his eligibility to a seat in the Council of Appointment, as he was no longer a State Senator. Schuyler insisted upon his right to sit there during the year for which he was appointed, and there appears no record of his removal.

In the National Senate, General Schuyler took decided ground in favor of Secretary Hamilton's funding system, and the creation of a National Bank. The most objectionable feature in Hamilton's scheme was the assumption, by the general government, of the public debts of the several States. The justice of such assumption, and the credit it would give the national government abroad, were important considerations, and General Schuyler and Mr. King both voted for the measure.

Schuyler having, in casting lots, drawn the shortest term in the National Senate, his seat became vacant on the 4th of March, 1791. He was a candidate for reëlection. Aaron Burr, whom Governor Clinton had appointed Attorney-general of the State, was his competitor, and he was nominated by a majority of five in the Assembly, and eight in the Senate. To the casual observer, this large majority in

the Senate, nominally Federal, against Schuyler, appears inexplicable. It is difficult to give exact reasons, but it seems probable that the rigid partisanship of the general, his austere and rather aristocratic deportment, and his intimate relations with Hamilton, whose popularity the wily Burr was already laboring to undermine, had made him personally unpopular with many who desired a cessation of political warfare. Opposed to Schuyler's high honor and integrity, his enlarged and liberal views as regarded the great interests of the country, and his commanding personal presence, was Burr's aptness for intrigue, fascination of address, the moderation of his party views, which had very little basis of principle, and his easy adaptation of the practice of being "all things to all men." By his winning address he found friends with both parties, and he made use of Schuyler's unpopular vote in favor of the assumption of the State debts, as a wedge for splitting the Federal unity in the State Senate. No doubt many of the Federalists did not vote on the appointment because they would not vote against Schuyler, for, of the twenty-four members of that house, only sixteen votes were given. Of these, twelve were for Burr. Burr's office of Attorney-general so becoming vacant, was then filled by the appointment of Morgan Lewis, who was connected, by marriage, with the Livingston family.

The French Revolution was now making fearful progress in the direction of anarchy. Mistaking French Democracy, which meant freedom from *all* restraint, to be the same as that calm and order-loving, patient, law-abiding Democracy which had overthrown monarchy in America, the people of the United States were largely disposed to sympathize with the French revolutionists. They had

been taught to regard the French people with affection, because they had been allies in their own revolutionary struggle; and when Mr. Jefferson came home from his mission to France, hot from the seething cauldron of Jacobinism in Paris, to take his seat in Washington's Cabinet as Secretary of State, and fully prepared to ask his countrymen to show practical sympathy with their old allies, he soon found himself at the head of a large party, standing in opposition to the administration of Washington. The conservatism of the President and his associates in the government, and their lack of enthusiasm on the subject of the French Revolution, which so filled his own heart and brain, were construed by Jefferson as indifference to the diffusion of Democratic ideas and the triumph of Republican principles, for which the patriots in the war for independence had contended. He had scarcely taken his seat in the Cabinet before he declared that some of his colleagues had decidedly monarchical views, and it became a settled belief in his mind that there was a party in the United States constantly at work, secretly, and sometimes openly, for the overthrow of republicanism. He agreed, in theory, with Thomas Paine, that a weak government and a strong people were the best guarantees of liberty to the citizen, and he contemplated all executive power with distrust. He thought he saw in the funding system arranged by Hamilton, and in the United States Bank and the Excise law—creations of Hamilton's brain—instruments for enslaving the people; and he affected to believe that the rights of the States and the liberties of the citizen were in danger. He even went so far as to charge his political opponents, and especially Hamilton, with corrupt and anti-republican designs, selfish motives and treacherous

intentions; and so was inaugurated that system of personal abuse and vituperation which have ever since disgraced the public press and political leaders. Then were crystallized into distinct form the opposing political opinions of the people of the United States, under the party names of FEDERALISTS and REPUBLICANS.

The dreadful Reign of Terror in France soon held Europe in awe. The successful Jacobins, in 1792, abolished the Constituent Assembly, and proclaimed themselves a National Convention, with full legislative and executive powers. They suspended the functions of the King; devised and put in motion schemes of conquest and propagandism; assumed to be the deliverers of Europe from kingly rule; abolished royalty in France, and proclaimed it a republic; and, early in 1793, murdered their King, in the presence of his people. They declared war against England, and fulminated threats against other nations; and in their mad egotism, they proposed to fight the world in defence of French democracy.

The contagion of that bloody revolution so poisoned the circulation of the political system of the United States that, strange as it may now appear, when the proclamation of the French Republic, with all its attendant horrors in view, and of war against other nations, was made known here, there was an outburst of popular feeling in favor of the Gallic cause, that seemed to be almost universal.

Then came "citizen" Genet, as the representative of the French Republic. He mistook the popular enthusiasm for the settled convictions of the people. He was warmly greeted by the republican leaders, but was chilled and irritated by the calm coolness of Washington, Hamilton,

and others of the Federal party in the government. He demanded the immediate and active practical alliance of the United States with France, and, for a moment, the people seemed willing to comply. The sagacious Washington and his thoughtful advisers saw dangers ahead. They had no confidence in the self-constituted rulers of France, nor in their system of government, and, on the 22d of April, 1793, the President issued a proclamation of neutrality, warning citizens of the United States not to take any part in the kindling war abroad.

This brought out all of the heavy batteries of the republican party, who assailed the President and his political friends with the most malignant rancor. The war of words, through the newspapers and in pamphlets, was waged fiercely, and Jefferson and Hamilton let fly at each other their sharpest arrows. In this war General Schuyler took an active part, on the Federalist side, and in public and private expressed his views on the French question vigorously and boldly. He wrote:

"I always abhorred the disposition of the French government before the revolution. I equally detest the measures of the present ruling powers, as unfriendly to the real liberties of the people, and tending to the worst of all tyrannies, a government of a single branch, consisting of many individuals, which must ever be exercised in prejudice and passion."*

Washington's neutrality proclamation was timely. Genet had come with blank commissions for privateers. Encouraged by the Republican party and the secret Democratic societies which had lately been formed, in imitation of the Jacobin clubs of Paris, he defied the government, treated the President's proclamation (which had been issued from Mount Vernon) with scorn, and proceeded to fit out privateers in American waters. One of

* Autograph Letter, May 12, 1793.

these, *L'Embuscade* (which brought Genet to this country), sailed out of the harbor of Charleston, manned principally by American citizens, came prowling up the coast, seizing several vessels, and finally capturing a fine British merchantman within the Capes of the Delaware, which was taken to Philadelphia, the seat of the national government, in triumphant attitude. *L'Embuscade* was cordially greeted at the wharves by the Republicans. "When the British colors were seen reversed," Jefferson wrote to Madison, "and the French flying above them, the people burst into peals of exultation." Bells rang, and cannon roared, as the French minister entered the city soon afterward, and he received addresses from societies and the citizens at large. In New York there were similar demonstrations of delight when Genet arrived, but there was a firm and dignified host of men who quietly upheld the President.

Genet's conduct aroused the indignation of Washington, and disgusted Mr. Jefferson; and when the former asked, "Is the minister of the French Republic to set the acts of the government at defiance, *with impunity?*" his Cabinet answered, unanimously, "No." Forbearance toward the insolent minister was no longer required, and, with the concurrence of his Cabinet, the President demanded his recall. It was done.

Mr. Jefferson's views concerning French affairs had now become much modified, especially after Genet had threatened to appeal from the President to the people—in other words, create an insurrection for the overthrow of the government. He literally discarded Genet, lowered his tone toward Hamilton, and at the end of the year left the Cabinet, and retired to private life. Genet never

returned to France. He remained in New York, married a daughter of Governor Clinton, and became an ornament to American society, for he was a man of eminent abilities, polished manners, and full of energy.

In the spring of 1793 the Federalists gained the ascendancy in the State of New York, and, early in 1795, Governor Clinton published a letter, addressed to the freeholders of his State, in which he declined being a candidate for Governor at the ensuing election, chiefly on account of ill-health. Mr. Hamilton was spoken of as the Federal candidate for his place, but he positively refused to accept the nomination. They nominated John Jay (then in Europe) for Governor, and Stephen Van Rensselaer (Schuyler's son-in-law) for Lieutenant-governor. Judge Yates was the opposing candidate for Governor, and was beaten by an overwhelming majority.

The election was held in April. It occurred while Mr. Jay's character as a diplomat was undergoing a very severe ordeal. For some time the haughty and unjust conduct of Great Britain toward the United States marine, and in omissions to carry out in good faith the provisions of the treaty of 1783, had been creating much discontent in the public mind, and, in the spring of 1794, it seemed as if war with that nation would be an inevitable event. To avert it was Washington's most anxious desire. He resolved to try negotiation, and he proposed to send Chief-justice Jay to London for the purpose, clothed with ample powers as Envoy-extraordinary, instructed to negotiate for a settlement of all disputes between the two governments. The Republicans, or Democrats, assailed the proposition as pusillanimous, and their secret societies were aroused to great activity. But the Senate confirmed the nomination

in April, and in May Mr. Jay sailed for England. His mission was partially successful. He accomplished less than his instructions directed him to ask for, yet the treaty which he concluded in November, 1794, was a long step in the direction of right, justice and national prosperity. The treaty, Mr. Jay and the administration were assailed with the coarsest and most violent abuse, and, when the Senate ratified it, the members of that body who voted in its favor were abused without stint. Bold attempts were made to intimidate the President, and prevent his signing it. A mob, in Philadelphia, paraded the streets, with effigies of Jay and the ratifying Senators, with labels insinuating that the Chief-justice had been bought with British gold; and, when Hamilton and others spoke publicly in favor of it at an open-air meeting, in New York, they were stoned, not only by a low mob, but by decent people.* "These are hard arguments," said Hamilton, who was hit a glancing blow upon the forehead by one of the stones. South Carolinians called Jay a traitor, and

* The late Dr. John W. Francis, in his "Old New York," says he was informed that Edward Livingston (afterward so celebrated for his Louisiana Code) was one of the violent young men by whom the stones were thrown. The Livingston family, with the Chancellor (Robert R. Livingston) at their head, had been ardent Federalists, and he was one of the most eloquent advocates of the ratification of the new Constitution in the convention at Poughkeepsie. For reasons not certainly known, he and his family had now changed their political position. It was asserted that the Chancellor was opposed to Hamilton's financial schemes as set forth in his reports as Secretary of the Treasury, and that he took a stand in opposition to that statesman as early as 1790. Judge Hammond says that he was informed "that *the family*, one evening, had a meeting for the purpose of deliberating on the subject, and that the result of their deliberations was such that the next morning every member of it took a position in the ranks of the Republican party." ["History of Political Parties in the State of New York," vol. i., p. 107.] Some of the Livingstons in Columbia county did not change with the Chancellor.

they longed for a guillotine for such as he, and burned a British flag at the door of the British Consul, in Charleston, while the Virginia politicians vehemently clamored for a dissolution of the Union.

Washington, unmoved by the terrible storm that raged around him, signed the treaty, and waited patiently for the tempest to pass by. It was the first act of the government which proved the stability and power of the National Constitution, and it was for a long time pointed to as a warrant for faith and hope.

Every obstacle was thrown in the way of giving force to the treaty, and the most persistent efforts of the Federalists in favor of it were necessary. General Schuyler worked incessantly to obtain an expression of public opinion, in the State of New York, in its favor. Public meetings were called; and, late in April, 1796, General Schuyler, as chairman of a committee at Albany, sent to town officers, all over the northern and western portions of the State, a petition, for the signatures of citizens, praying for the passage of laws for the full execution of the treaty. These were accompanied by the following circular letter:

"FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

"Your attention is called to a subject involving your interest, your happiness and your peace. Appearances indicate that a disposition prevails in a majority of the House of Representatives of the United States not to make the requisite provision for carrying into effect the treaty lately concluded with Great Britain, although ratified on the part of the United States by the Constitutional authorities thereof.

"Should our apprehensions, excited by such a disposition, be verified, an expensive WAR, with all its attendant calamities, will probably be the result. Indeed, the very prospect of it has already diminished the price of our agricultural produce to a considerable extent--the depreciation will, doubtless, increase; while the price of the necessary foreign articles of consumption will certainly rise. Under these impressions, and others arising from circumstances equally important, the citizens of many of the States are preparing remonstrances on the

subject to the House of Representatives. The citizens of New York have already concluded on their address, and have recommended to you and to us to afford our aid on this serious occasion. The inclosed copies are now submitted for signature, by the citizens of this city, and will, we trust, meet with general approbation, as citizens of every political party are equally interested in the result.

"Will you please to lay it before the citizens of your town, for their determination, and, if it meets with their approbation, to entreat their signatures and, when signed, to transmit it at an early day to us.

By order: PH. SCHUYLER, *Chairman.*

Albany, April 23, 1796.

To the Supervisors, Assessors and Town-clerk of the Town of———, in the County of———.

The bitter feeling against the treaty was now beginning to subside, and laws were passed for carrying it into effect. The choice of Presidential electors absorbed men's minds for a while. Washington declined to be a candidate for a third term, and John Adams became his successor in the spring of 1797.

It was during the early part of 1796 that General Schuyler urged, in the Senate of New York, a plan for the improvement of the revenue of the State. He put forth his plan in pamphlet form. It contemplated the institution of the office of Comptroller, and that part of it was almost immediately adopted by the Legislature, and has been followed ever since. He clearly demonstrated that by the measures which he proposed, the surplus fund, beyond all reasonable wants, might, at the period of thirty years from that time, be made to accumulate to several million dollars. His arguments and suggestions received much attention, and many of the latter were put into practical operation, and with success.

The Federalist majority in the State continually increased, and, in the spring of 1797, General Schuyler was unanimously chosen to occupy a seat in the National Senate. He accordingly resigned his seat in the State Senate;

and, on the last day of March made a touching farewell address to the members of that body, who ordered it to be inserted, in full, in their journal. He said he had been forty years in the public service, and had determined to retire to private life when his term in the State Senate should expire, but that the recent appointment, and the manner in which it had been conferred on him, imposed on him an obligation to forego his private inclinations. He stated that his feelings were ardent in support of his political principles, but he declared that he retained no unkind impressions against those who differed from him in opinion in relation to public men or measures, and he trusted that his opponents entertained corresponding friendly sentiments toward him. He concluded his remarks with a fervent prayer for the preservation of our civil institutions and for the prosperity of the State.

General Schuyler was then suffering severely from the ravages of his life-long torturer, the gout. To Hamilton he wrote, on the 3d of April:

"I took my leave of the Senate on Friday. * * * * * I am not in good health; my wounds are opened afresh. I hope, however, to be able to go to Philadelphia."*

A few days later, he wrote to Hamilton:

"I am so much indisposed that I apprehend I shall not be able to attend Congress at the opening of the session, if at all."†

He went, however, but did not remain long. The pressure of ill-health compelled him to resign,‡ and he retired forever from the arena of public life; but, until the

* Autograph Letter. † Autograph Letter.

‡ In a written communication to the Legislature of New York, early in January, 1798, General Schuyler asked leave to resign, and, on the 12th of that month, the two houses nominated and appointed John Sloss Hobart, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, to be his successor.

day of his death, he was an interested spectator of the events of that arena. He kept up an extensive correspondence with the leading men of the nation, in which he spoke freely of public men and measures, in a spirit of charity and justice; and his private correspondence with the members of his family exhibits the most beautiful traits of an affectionate kinsman and Christian gentleman. His correspondence with Washington was frequent, and, on the part of both, in the tone and spirit of intimate and loving friends. I here give one of the letters of the latter, as a specimen of that correspondence. It was written while Washington was in Philadelphia, upon the business of the army, to the chief command of which he had been called, in anticipation of a war with France:

"MY DEAR SIR:

"I have been honored with your letter of the 20th ult., and congratulate you very sincerely on the favorable change you have lately experienced (as I have been informed) in your health. I wish it may be perfectly restored.

"I persuade myself that it is unnecessary for me to add that if health and other circumstances had enabled you and Mrs. Schuyler to have visited Mrs. Washington and myself, at Mount Vernon, that it would have been considered as a most pleasing and flattering evidence of your regard; and the more so as neither she nor I ever expected to be more than twenty-five miles from that retreat during the remainder of our lives.

"But, strange to relate, here I am! busied with scenes far removed and foreign from anything I had contemplated when I quitted the chair of government.

"Your grandson, Mr. Church,* has all the exterior of a fine young man, and, from what I have heard of his intellect and principles, will do justice to and reward the precepts he has received from yourself, his parents and uncle Hamilton. So far, then, as my attention to him will go, consistent with my other duties, he may assuredly count upon.

"I pray you to present me (and I am sure Mrs. Washington would unite in them if she were here) to Mrs. Schuyler, in the most respect-

* Son of General Schuyler's eldest daughter, Angelica, whose marriage is noticed on page 206.

ful terms; and let me pray you to be assured of the sincere esteem, regard and wishes of the most affectionate kind, of, dear sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.*

* Autograph Letter, dated at Philadelphia, December 4, 1798.

CHAPTER XXVII.

While General Schuyler was engaged, during the closing decade of the last century, in warm political strife, he was busily employed in labors for the promotion of great public works, calculated to develop the resources of his native State, and improve and aggrandize it. For him may be justly claimed, I think, the honor of the paternity of the canal system in the State of New York, which for long years formed an essential element in its prosperity; for, as we have seen, he talked to Charles Carroll upon the subject so early as the spring of 1776, and had entered into a calculation of the actual cost of a canal that should connect the Hudson River with Lake Champlain, as has since been done.*

That honor has been claimed for Elkanah Watson, Christopher Colles and others, but I have nowhere seen any record of a proposition to construct such a work in this country, so early, by several years, as that of General Schuyler, mentioned by Carroll.†

* See page 40, of this volume.

† In 1820, Mr. Watson, in a "Summary History of the Rise, Progress, and Existing State of the Grand [Erie] Canal, with Remarks," alluding to rival claims to the paternity of the canal policy, says:

"It is altogether probable that General Schuyler's enlarged and comprehensive mind may have conceived such a project at an early day, although I have not been able to trace any fact leading to such a disclosure; at least, not until he promulgated the canal-law, in 1792. To his efforts, mainly, the public are indebted for obtaining the law of that year, which established the canal policy in this State, and

While Schuyler was in England, in 1761,* he visited the canal which connected the coal-mines of Worsley with Manchester, then just completed by the Duke of Bridgewater, and saw the aqueduct over the Irwell, which Brindley had lately finished, by which vessels crossed that stream at an elevation of about forty feet. He was deeply impressed with what he saw, gathered much information on the subject, and pondered the matter after his return home. He corresponded with Prof. Brand, of London, on the subject, and read, with deep interest, the reports which reached America, from time to time, of the success of the Duke's canal, which reduced the price of transportation one-half, and the zeal with which similar undertakings were ventured upon in England, until he was satisfied that a canal which should connect Lake Champlain with the tide-water of the Hudson River would be a profitable work. But he found very few people who had faith in the project. The unsettled state of the country was unfavorable to all enterprises of that nature, and when the war that broke out in 1775 was ended, the people and the country were too heavily burdened with debt and taxes to pay much attention to arguments in favor of such an undertaking.

While this bold idea was held in abeyance by circumstances, in the mind of Schuyler, Elkanah Watson, who

which, in my estimation, will confer more glory on his name in the annals of posterity than all the other eminent services which his splendid talents conferred on his country."

It is claimed for Colles, that, so early as 1784, he presented the subject of canal navigation to the Legislature of the State of New York. A careful examination of their records shows that the joint resolution passed at that session, on the subject, and also subsequent resolutions, for eight or ten years, contemplated only the *removal of obstructions* in the Mohawk and Hudson rivers. Not an allusion is made to a canal, direct or indirect.

* See page 180, vol. i.

had travelled on canals in Flanders and Holland, came upon the scene. He had spent two days with Washington, at Mount Vernon, in 1785. The patriot's mind was then deeply engaged in a project for connecting the waters of the Potomac with those of the West, chiefly for the purpose of diverting the fur trade from Detroit to Alexandria, which then was enjoyed by Montreal. Watson was allowed to copy notes from Washington's journals, and estimates on his plans; and his mind was so deeply impressed with the importance to the country of such artificial highways for inland commerce, that he became, as he said, a "canal disciple of Washington."

In the autumn of 1788, Mr. Watson made a journey to Fort Schuyler (now Rome), then the head of batteau-navigation on the Mohawk River. While there, he conceived the idea of producing a water-connection between the Hudson River and Lake Ontario, by means of a canal from the Mohawk to Wood Creek, a tributary of Oneida Lake, and thence down the Onondaga River to Oswego, on Lake Ontario.

On his return to Albany, Watson appears to have communicated his thoughts to General Schuyler, and when, the next year, the former settled in Albany, he and Schuyler seem to have had much conversation on the subject of both a northern and western canal. Watson made other journeys westward, gathering up facts. He penetrated the country to Seneca Lake, in the autumn of 1791, in company with Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, General Philip Van Cortlandt and Stephen N. Bayard. The facts which he gathered during that journey he digested on his return, in the shape of a pamphlet, which he submitted, in manuscript, to General Schuyler, then an active and powerful

member of the Senate of the State of New York. Schuyler was greatly interested in the subject, and assured Mr. Watson that he would exert his utmost endeavors to obtain a canal law. The subject was brought before the Legislature in January, 1792, and an act was passed by which two companies were chartered. The history of the movement is given in the following letter from General Schuyler to Mr. Watson, dated New York, March 4th, 1792:

"SIR:—A joint committee of both houses—of which committee I was not one—has been formed. This committee reported a bill for incorporating two companies, one for the western, another for the northern navigation. The former was to have been carried *no further than Oneida Lake.* The bill contemplated a commencement of the works from the navigable waters of the Hudson, and to be thence continued to the point I have mentioned; and it obliged the corporation, in a given number of years—which was intended to be ten—to the completion of the whole western navigation.

"When this bill was introduced into the Senate, the plan, generally, appeared to me so exceptionable that I thought it encumbent on me to state my ideas on the subject at large. They were approved of unanimously by the committee of the whole house, and I was requested to draw a new bill. This was done, and it has met with the approbation of the committee of the whole, and will be completed to-morrow by filling up the blanks. By this bill two companies are to be incor porated; one for the western, the other for the northern navigation. It is proposed that each shall consist of one thousand shares; that subscriptions shall be opened by commissioners, at New York and Albany; that the books shall be kept open a month; that if more than one thousand shares are subscribed, the excess deducted from each subscription pro rata, so, nevertheless, as that no subscriber shall have less than one share; that every subscriber shall pay, at the time of subscription, say thirty dollars, and that the directors of the incorporation shall, from time to time, as occasion may require, call on the subscribers for additional monies to prosecute the work to effect, whence the whole sum for each share is left indefinite.

"The western company are to begin their works at Schenectady, and to proceed to Wood Creek. If this part is not completed in——years, say six or eight, then the corporation is to cease; but, having completed this in——years more,—say ten, they are to be allowed further time for extending the works to Seneca Lake and to Lake Ontario; and, if not completed within that term, then the incorporation to cease, so far forth only as relates to the western navigation, from Wood Creek to the

lakes. The State is to make an immediate donation of money, which I proposed at ten thonsand pounds for each company, but which, I fear, will be reduced to five thousand pounds for each company. I thought it best that the operations should begin at Schenectady, lest the very heavy expense of a canal, either directly from Albany to Schenectady, or by the way of the Cohoes or Half-Moon, might have retarded, if not have totally arrested, at least for a long time, the navigation into the western country, and conceiving that if the navigation to the Cohoes was completed, the continuation of it from Schenectady to the Hudson would eventually and certainly take place. A given toll per ton will be permitted for the whole extent from the Hudson to the Lakes, and this toll will be divided by the directors to every part of the canals and navigation, in proportion to the distances which any boat may use the navigation. Provision is made that if the toll does not produce, in a given time, six per cent., the directors may increase it until it does; but the corporation is ultimately confined to a dividend of fifteen per cent. Both corporations are in perpetuity, provided the works are completed in the times above mentioned.

"The size of the boats which the canals are to carry is not yet determined; I believe it will be that they shall draw, when loaded, two-and-a-half feet of water. This is, substantially, the bill, so far as it relates to the western navigation.

"The northern company is to commence its works at Troy, and to deepen the channel at Lansingburgh so as to carry vessels of greater burden to that place than are now capable of going there. The blank for this purpose will be filled up, I think, with two feet; that is, the channel is to be deepened two feet. From Lansingburgh the navigation is to be improved by deepening the river by locks and canals, to Fort Edward, or some point near it, and thence to be carried to Wood Creek, or some of its branches, and extend to Lake Champlain. Tolls, et cetera, are to be on the same principle as on the western navigation. A clause was proposed for preventing any canals to the Susquehanna, bnt it was lost, it being conceived improper to oblige the inhabitants of the western country to make Hudson River, or the commercial towns on it, their only markets.

"In the prosecution of these capital objects, I have to combine the interests of the community at large with those of my more immediate constituents. What the result will be, time must determine. I shall, however, be happy if my ideas on the subject shall meet the approbation of gentlemen more conversant with those matters than I can be supposed to be."

Mr. Watson attended upon the Legislature while this bill was pending, working with zeal in support of the energetic efforts of General Schuyler in the Senate, and of

Mr. Lusk in the Assembly. But many obstacles stood in the way of the organization of a company. Subscriptions were tardily made, and, for a while, the prospect was discouraging. An impetus was soon given by General Schuyler, who showed his confidence in the project by subscribing for one hundred shares, and declaring his belief that it would be "a productive fund for the subscribers." This confidence, displayed by one on whose judgment the public placed implicit reliance, inspired a like feeling in others, and companies were soon organized, under the respective corporate titles of "Western Inland Lock Navigation Company," and "Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company."

General Schuyler was unanimously chosen president of both navigation companies, and Thomas Eddy, a Quaker, was appointed treasurer of the Western company. Schuyler entered upon the duties of his office with the greatest zeal. Accompanied by his associates, Goldsbrow Banyer and Elkanah Watson, and surveyors and engineers, he made a thorough exploration of the whole route from Schenectady to the waters of Lakes Seneca and Ontario, in August and September, 1792. They also explored the route for the northern canal, from the head of Hudson's tide-water to the northern Wood Creek and Lake Champlain. Their explorations were satisfactory, and, in April, 1793, the Western company began work at the Little Falls, in Herkimer county, with about three hundred laborers and a competent number of artificers. The same year, the Northern Company commenced works near Stillwater, intending to extend them to Waterford. Delays followed, chiefly on account of a lack of funds; and yet, so vigorously did Schuyler and his associates, especially Mr. Wat-

son, push on the work when means were at command that boats of sixteen tons burthen passed over the whole route from Schenectady to Lakes Ontario and Seneca, without interruption, in 1796.

But a serious defect in the construction of the locks made the final cost of the works much greater than the estimates. They had been built of wood, and were too perishable. Mr. William Weston, a distinguished English canal engineer, arrived early in 1795, and he was employed to examine the entire line of the works. This he did, in company with General Schuyler, in the summer of that year. The result was an order for Mr. Weston to reconstruct the locks of stone,—an operation which exhausted the funds of the company.

At about the same time, Mark Isambart Brunel, a young French engineer, who, for political reasons, had fled from France to the United States in 1793, undertook the exploration and survey of some lands in northern New York for an association of Frenchmen, known as the Castorland Company. He bore letters of introduction to General Schuyler; was received as a welcome guest at his table, and was employed in 1794 in a survey of the Northern, or Champlain, canal. Almost fifty years afterward, Brunel completed the Thames tunnel, at London, one of the greatest engineering achievements of modern times, and for which the young Queen of England conferred upon him the honors of Knighthood.

Mr. Eddy, who had conceived a plan for uniting the Mohawk and Seneca rivers, by means of a direct canal, made an exploration of the route, with Mr. Weston, under the official sanction of the directors of the Western Company, in 1796. That canal was speedily made. It was

the living germ of the Grand Canal. It led Gouverneur Morris, in 1801, to conceive the greatest of canal projects, the construction of a spacious one through the country, by the nearest and most practicable route, from the Hudson River to Lake Erie, which was accomplished a little more than twenty years later. Henceforth the story of the earlier canals begins to fade from view before the splendors of the history of the greater work. I need only to add the remark that General Schuyler's interest in the inland works already completed, and the canal policy of his State so inaugurated, never flagged to the day of his death. So late as the summer of 1802, when he was almost sixty-nine years of age, he endured the hardships incident to an exploration of the whole line of the Western Canal route, and gave his personal attention to the construction of new locks, repairing old ones, and removing obstructions. His manuscript journal, kept during that exploration, is before me. It is full of vivid pictures of the labors and privations which he then endured. To General Hamilton he wrote, after he came home:

"On Monday evening I returned home to my family. Days of constant activity, and some of fatigue, were succeeded by nights of sound sleep. This, with a good appetite and good food to satisfy it, afforded me as good health as I ever enjoyed, and which I still retain.

"My labors have been crowned with success. One of the locks in Wood Creek is completed; a second greatly advanced, and a third will be completed in the present season, as also two small sluices. These are all the works contemplated the present year; but, to complete the navigation to Oneida Lake, four more locks must be constructed. Preparations are making for two, and directions ought to be given to provide the materials for the other two."*

From this time the clouds of domestic affliction gathered around the household of General Schuyler, and bodily infirmities came on apace. In the year 1801, his

* Autograph Letter, August 19, 1802.

daughter Margaret, wife of Mr. Van Rensselaer, the Patroon, died; and, early in 1803, the wife of his youth—with whom he had lived forty-eight years—was called away by death. This latter bereavement was a severe blow. To Hamilton he wrote:

"Every letter of yours affords a means of consolation; and I am aware that nothing tends so much to the alleviation of distress as the personal intercourse of a sincere friend, and the endearing attentions of children. I shall, therefore, delay no longer than is indispensably necessary, my visit to you. My trial has been severe. I shall attempt to sustain it with fortitude. I have, I hope, succeeded in a degree, but after giving and receiving, for nearly half a century, a series of mutual evidences of an affection and of a friendship which increased as we advanced in life, the shock was great and sensibly felt, to be thus suddenly deprived of a beloved wife, the mother of my children, and the soothing companion of my declining days. But as I kiss the rod with humility, the Being that inflicts the stroke will enable me to sustain the smart, and progressively restore peace to a wounded heart; and will make you, my Eliza, and my other children, the instruments of consolation."*

During this and the succeeding year the health of General Schuyler sensibly failed, and his life-long disease, the gout, made fearful ravages upon the citadel of his strength. Yet he had many intervals of ease, when he enjoyed the society of friends, and especially of his immediate family, with whom he was in constant intercourse, personally or by letters. His epistles to his children during that period (and, indeed, always) were touching evidences of affectionate solicitude. They frequently refer to the exquisite enjoyment which he experienced in the love that his children exhibited in words and deeds, and were often redolent with sentiments of gratitude to his Maker, such as might fill the heart and flow from the lips of a truly humble Christian.

The wounds of General Schuyler's bereavements were

* Autograph Letter, dated Albany, April 16, 1803.

beginning to heal, and the sunshine of repose was gathering over his spirit and his household, when, at midsummer in 1804, a dreadful calamtiy came, which crowned his domestic afflictions. It was the violent death of his son-in-law, General Hamilton, at the hands of his political antagonist, Aaron Burr. It was the result of political strife with a malignant opponent. Words in disparagement of Burr had been spoken by Hamilton in a secret council of friends—as private, almost, as at the domestic fireside—which were overheard by a concealed listener, and reported to Burr. The latter, without the shadow of an excuse, even under the rules of what was miscalled the "code of honor," challenged Hamilton to mortal combat. He tried to avoid the savage issue, by all honorable means. Burr refused to listen, and with an evident desire to destroy the life of one whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to his political preferment, insisted upon fighting. Hamilton, yielding to the influence of the prevailing sentiment at that time, in regard to such matters, accepted the challenge. They met at Weehawken, on the New Jersey shore of the Hudson, opposite New York, on the 11th of July. Hamilton fired his pistol in the air. Burr took deliberate aim, and gave his antagonist a mortal wound. The dying statesman was taken, in a boat, across the river to the house of a friend, where he expired the next day. His wife had been summoned to his side, and in agony unspeakable, she beheld his spirit leave his beloved form. To her it seemed a wild dream of horror; and it left an ineffaceable impression during her widowhood of fifty years duration.

General Hamilton was then in the prime of life, and at the zenith of his fame and usefulness. He was but a little more than forty-seven years of age. The news of

this tragedy caused great excitement throughout the city and country. His murderer fled before the fierce blast of public indignation, and from that hour until his death, more than thirty years afterward, he bore the mark of Cain, and was an outcast from society.

The dreadful tale was conveyed to General Schuyler, by express, in a brief letter sent by his son-in-law, Mr. Church. It reached him about twenty-four hours after Hamilton's death. The blow was most severe, and for several hours his grief was too overwhelming to allow him to be comforted or to comfort others, for he loved Hamilton with unbounded affection, as his letters to his family certify. At about noon his fortitude, which for a time had forsaken him, returned, and he wrote as follows to Mrs. Hamilton:

"FRIDAY MORNING, 13th July, 1804.

"*My Dear, Dearly Beloved and Affectionate Child:*

"This morning Mr. Church's letter has announced to me the severe affliction which it has pleased the Supreme Being to inflict on you, on me, and on all dear to us. If aught, under Heaven, could aggravate the affliction I experience, it is that, incapable of moving or being moved, I cannot fly to you to pour the balm of comfort into your afflicted bosom, to water it with my tears, and to receive yours on mine. In this distressing situation—under the pressure of this most severe calamity, let us seek consolation from that source where it can only be truly found, in humble resignation to the will of Heaven.

"Oh, my dearly beloved child, let us unanimously entreat the Supreme Being to give you fortitude to support the affliction, to preserve you to me, to your dear children and relations.

"Should it please God so far to restore my strength as to enable me to go to you, I shall embrace the first moment to do it; but, should it be otherwise, I entreat you, my beloved child, to come to me as soon as you possibly can, with my dear grand-children.* Your sisters will accompany you. May Almighty God bless and protect you, and pour

* Four of these grand-children, sons of General Hamilton, yet (December, 1872) survive, namely, Alexander, James A., John C., and Philip.

the balm of consolation into your distressed soul, is, and will always be, the prayer of your affectionate and distressed parent,*

"PH. SCHUYLER.

"Mrs. HAMILTON."

Four days after this letter was written, General Schuyler wrote as follows to Mrs. Church, his eldest daughter, then residing in New York:

"TUESDAY, 17th July, 1804.

"The dreadful calamity, my dearly beloved child, which we have all sustained, affected me so deeply as to threaten serious results; but when I received the account of his Christian resignation, my afflicted soul was much tranquillized. Oh, may Heaven indulgently extend fortitude to my afflicted, my distressed, my beloved Eliza. I trust that the Supreme Being will prolong my life, that I may discharge the duties of a father to my dear child and her dear children. My wounds bear a favorable aspect, and the paroxysms of the gout have not been severe for the last two days. Yesterday I was able to sit up all the day. God grant that my recovery may be accelerated to enable me to go to New York and embrace my distressed children. Should, however, my restoration be retarded, I wish to see you all here. The change of scene, may, perhaps, tend to soothe my beloved Eliza and children. She knows how tenderly I loved my dear Hamilton; how tenderly I love her and her children; that I feel all the duties that are devolved on me. The evening of my days will be passed in the pleasing occupation of administering comfort and relief to a child and grand-children so highly entitled to my best exertions.

"My Kitty† is most deeply affected. Her tears have flowed incessantly. She begins to be more composed; unites with me in love to you, your distressed sister, and all so dear to us. I do not write to-day to my Eliza, lest it should create a fresh paroxysm of grief. Oh, may she become calm. Her piety will, I trust, sustain her, and her life be preserved, that her parent, her children and relations may not sustain an additional calamity.

* * * * * * * *

"Fail not, my beloved, to let me daily know the state of your afflicted sister. My anxiety on her account rends my heart."‡

General Schuyler never recovered strength sufficient to

* Autograph Letter.

† His daughter Catharine, then the young wife of Samuel Malcolm, son of General Malcolm, of the Revolution, and afterward the wife of James Cochran.

‡ Autograph Letter, July 17, 1804.

visit New York again. Mrs. Hamilton and her children spent the latter part of the summer and a greater portion of the autumn with her father, at Albany. Soon after she left him for her home in New York, he wrote to her as follows:

"That your afflictions, my dear, dearly beloved child, have added to mine, was the natural result of a parent's tenderness for so dutiful and affectionate a child, as he invariably experienced from you. My affliction, has, however, been mitigated, by the favor of Divine Providence in preserving your life, and in enabling me to administer every possible consolation; and it will be no small one to you to be informed that since my last letter to you I have had no gout; that, although the ulcers in my feet and above my knee have been extensive, they bear a most favorable aspect for healing; that I have next to no pain from them; that my appetite is restored; that I sleep well; and, although I cannot walk, I have, for some days past, been carried to the dining-room, where I have quietly sat from one to six o'clock. I impute this happy change, under God, to the excessive discharge of gouty matter from my foot. Indeed, I am not without hopes of being able to visit you in the winter, if there should be sledding.

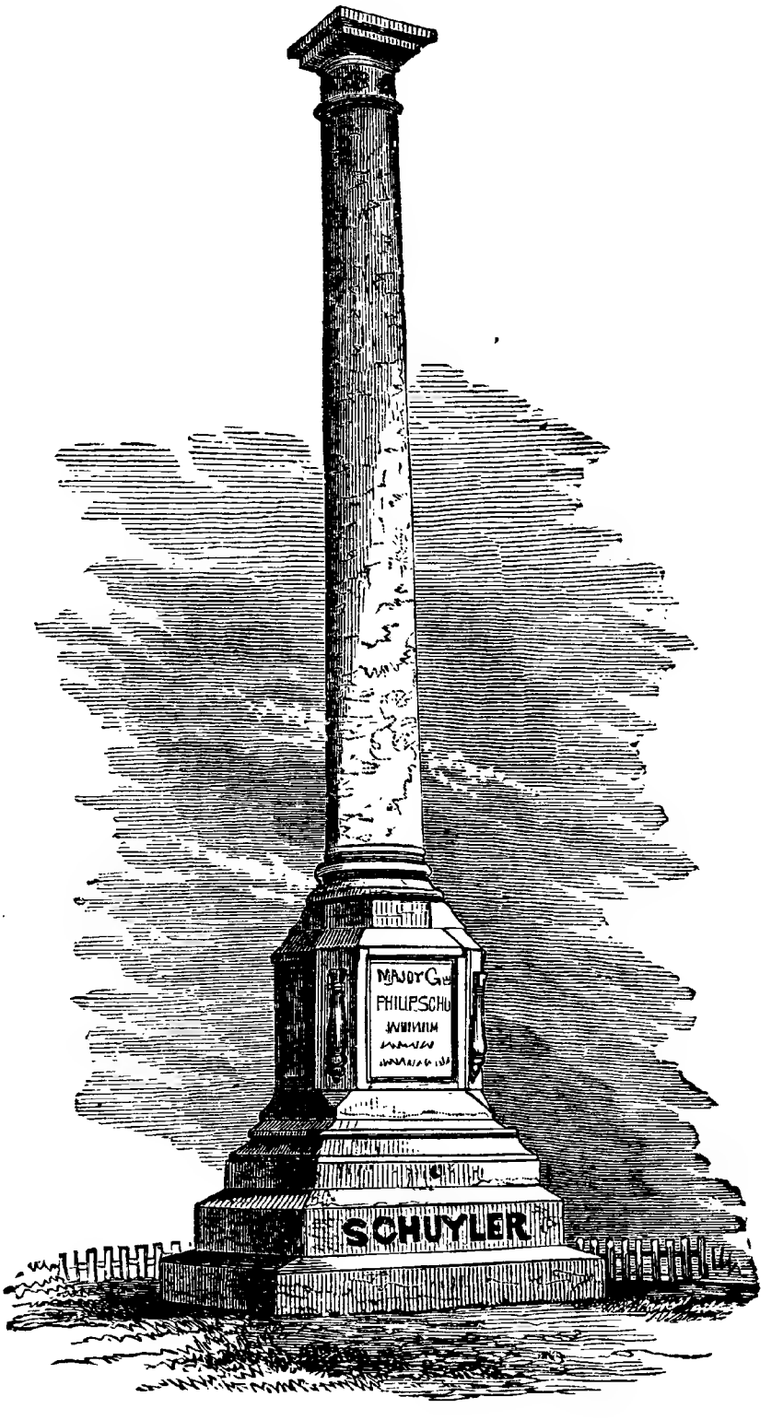
"I am happy that you have obtained a comfortable house. Render yourself and my dear children perfectly comfortable at your table, and call on me, my beloved child, without hesitation, for the means of rendering you so."*

This was one of the last letters written by General Schuyler. He soon afterward suffered a severe attack of gout, which seized a vital part, and, a fortnight after the above hopeful epistle was written—on Sunday, the 18th of November, 1804—his earthly career was ended, when he was almost seventy-one years of age.

The tidings of General Schuyler's death were received with sincere and profound sorrow throughout the country. His funeral, at his residence in Albany, on the 21st of November, was attended by an immense concourse of the citizens of that town and the surrounding country; and his remains were entombed, with military honors, in the fam-

* Autograph Letter, Albany, Nov. 3, 1804.

ily burial-vault of General Abraham Ten Broeck. They were afterward removed to the burial-vault of the Van Rensselaer and Schuyler families. Several years ago, this



SCHUYLER'S MONUMENT.

vault, in the northern suburbs of Albany, was disturbed by the construction of railways, and the remains deposited in them were removed to a temporary resting-place in the Albany Rural Cemetery.

For sixty-six years the remains of General Schuyler reposed without anything to mark the place of their sepulture. Then a loving grand-daughter of the general (Mrs. Mary Regina Miller, the youngest of the two surviving daughters of Cornelia Schuyler and Washington Morton), resolved to erect over his remains, at her own expense, a costly granite monument. That was in the year 1870. When the Trustees of the Albany Rural Cemetery, of which body Thomas W. Olcott is president, were apprised of her intention, they generously gave for the purpose one of the finest plots on the domain, in token of their reverence for the memory of that distinguished citizen. The monument was erected in October, 1871. It is a simple, Doric column, of light Quincy granite, thirty feet in height wrought by Jonathan Williams, architect, of Quincy, Massachusetts. On the pedestal of the shaft are the words:

MAJOR-GENERAL

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

BORN AT ALBANY,

NOV. 22, 1733.

DIED NOV. 18, 1804.

On the base of the monument, in raised letters, is the word SCHUYLER. The only ornaments are cannons, in relief, at each corner of the pedestal, and an inverted torch on the shaft. The design is beautiful, and the workmanship is perfect. It is a noble tribute of filial affection. The citizens of Albany should hasten to honor themselves by placing a bronze statue of General Schuyler in their public park; and the State of New York ought to con-

tribute a full-length likeness of her distinguished son, in purest marble, to the national collection at Washington city.

From General Schuyler's youngest and last surviving child, the late Mrs. Cochran, and from his venerable grandson, James A. Hamilton, who remembered him well, I learned some particulars concerning his personal appearance, habits, et cetera. He was a man of powerful muscular frame, rather slender in form, and about five feet eleven inches in height. In figure he was erect and commanding, and he was quick and energetic in his movements. His eyes were dark and piercing; his hair was dark brown; his voice was clear, and sometimes sharp; and his deportment toward the worthy was cordial, winning and dignified. He was always scrupulously neat in his dress, and fashionably attired. He kept a fine equipage of horses and carriages, but for all ordinary riding he used a "sulky," and of course drove, himself.

General Schuyler's house was noted for its generous hospitality. It was open to his friends at all times; and for long years, distinguished ladies and gentlemen who visited Albany were entertained at his mansion in the southern suburbs of the city, or at the Manor-house of his son-in-law, the Patroon Van Rensselaer. His household servants (black slaves) were numerous and well-trained. His table was abundantly supplied with a great variety of food and choice liquors. Whist was his favorite amusement, and one of which he was passionately fond. Often, after suffering all day acutely with the gout, on being relieved at evening, he would sit up half the night, at his own house or at the Club, playing whist.

General Schuyler was a very skillful mathematician,

which science gave him methodical habits. His business was arranged with the most perfect order and system, and he possessed a full knowledge of all the minute details in the management of his large estate. He was fond of agricultural pursuits, and spent the most of eight months of the year, when not engaged in public business, at his country-seat at Saratoga. His town and country houses are yet standing, the former fronting on Schuyler street, in Albany, and the latter (the one which he built on the ruins of the older mansion, in 1777) on the southern bank of the Fish Creek, at Schuylerville.

Mrs. Schuyler, who was a wife worthy of such a man, was short in stature, and, in her later years, quite fleshy. She had soft, sweet manners, that won all hearts, and a gentle spirit, while energy and firmness were conspicuous features in her character. Her charities to the deserving poor flowed like refreshing springs into barren wastes, and she was dearly loved by all who knew her.

I will close this memoir of one of the foremost men of his time with the following just analytical sketch of his character, written immediately after his death by Joseph Dennie, editor of the "Port-Folio," and published in that periodical, in February, 1810, with a portrait engraved by Leney:

"In the decease of General Schuyler both America and the State which had the honor of giving him birth have sustained a great and irreparable loss. So high and so broad a place has he filled in community, so blended with all the great concerns and interests of the nation have been his life and his distinguished name; such an impression of his agency and character has been left on our affairs, and so extensively has the social system, for a long course of years, felt the influence of his genius and his labors, it may not be too much to say that in his removal that system has experienced a profound sensation of vacuity never to be supplied.

"Although in the gradual decay which marked the last period in

the general's life, bodily infirmity, disease and pain restrained activity and repressed exertion; although the state of parties, for a time, was calculated to render useless the suggestions of his fertile mind and his rich experience; yet a quick retrospect of past times and past events cannot fail to awaken all our regrets, heighten the impression of our loss, and communicate a shock to every patriotic bosom.

"The history of our country, of its institutions, its policy, its jurisprudence, is full of monuments of this great man's usefulness and fame. They are extant or latent in the whole of our system; and excursive memory, from the rich and varied field of civil, political and military affairs, returns loaded with these memorials. Of the rare public spirit, indefatigable activity, persevering resolution, profound penetration and commanding talents of this eminent citizen, the last half century has been a steady witness. Few are the transactions, events and places, in the several departments of public life and public business, for the last forty years, in which he has not borne some part, or contributed some aid or influence.

"In his early military career, his activity, zeal and skill gave facility to every operation. In the more important and interesting scenes of our revolution, in times which required great resources and great energies, he was among the first in the confidence of his country; the man on whose spirit and abilities the most serious reliance was placed for providing those resources, and for repelling public dangers. And while others shared with him the toil of war, he, whether in or out of active and immediate service, was justly considered as a mainspring of every patriotic movement, and the soul of the Northern Department.

"During that short period which followed the termination of the war, and which, though our independence was conquered and secured, might properly be termed the gloomy night of the Confederation, General Schuyler found less occasion for the exercise of talents, but enough for the exercise of a vigilance and firmness then so necessary. Not discouraged by the existing state of things, and looking forward with assurance to the glorious morning of the Constitution, when public spirit and public virtue were to awake from their slumbers, he continued to devote himself to the public service in the State Legislature, the only theatre where he could act effectively. With views always liberal and extensive, he contemplated, with a steady aim, the consolidation of our Union as the first of political blessings, and labored in the very front of the enlightened men of that day in appeasing local jealousies and State pride, then the greatest obstacles to political reform.

"The commencement of our new era opened wide the field for the exercise of those abilities which long experience and much study had brought to full maturity. A better system of State politics, which fol-

lowed the reformation of the national system, presented fair objects and full scope for the exercise of useful plans. To legislation, in all its views, to public improvement in all its various branches, he brought those stores of useful and practical science, those original powers and chastened judgment produced or perfected by the research and labor of forty years. From that period to the resignation of his employments, his public life was one uninterrupted series of interesting engagement and active pursuit. A prime agent in all important affairs, a natural leader in public business, he never disdained or declined the task of personal labor or minute detail in arranging or executing the plans originating in his own conceptions. The journals and the history of public bodies in which he so sedulously and conspicuously acted, afford a mere outline of the service he performed, and the character he sustained. They remain, faint memorials of his inventive genius, his intense labors and his matchless facility. His parts and his powers were equally vigorous and versatile. Accustomed to military scenes, he was equally familiar with the civil code, with the policy of States, with the financial and economical systems, and with the useful arts. Without the benefits of an early education, strictly claimed, he was yet as extensively acquainted with books as with men, and without professional habits or practice, a legislator; without the study of the law, our statute book in every part bears the impression of his hand.

"To draw a full and complete portrait of this eminent man would be an arduous task, and far above the feeble pen now employed in sketching a few of its lineaments. Considered in various points of view, his image assumes various forms, each equally interesting and striking. Connected with all, he stood distinct from all. Original as was his character, and nervous as were his individual faculties, both are best to be seen, read and appreciated in their effects and their diffusible influence. History can alone, with truth, portray the entire man; since history collects from remote sources, descends with the details of things, and combines, out of the scattered materials of particular acts and exploits, those general, and, withal, those luminous views, which, alone, are adapted to the portraiture of eminent characters. Even in history, something will be lost or defective, because genius often acts by foreign instruments, moves by an imperceptible line, pervades a system unseen, gives to a train its first spark, and communicates an influence which cannot be traced.

"General Schuyler united in himself a rare assemblage of striking qualities. In him, to great quickness and strength of intellect was added an uncommon, perhaps an unequalled spirit of industry and command of detail. It was his general habit to narrow the interval between the conception and performance of things, by descending from the highest mental research to the most patient actual labor.

By this he attained exactness, and secured fidelity of execution. Though so much accustomed and so well qualified to manage affairs of state and of civil polity, he never abstracted himself from the concerns of agriculture and the useful arts. Familiar with the science of cultivation, and deep in the knowledge of nature, he was the projector, promoter and patron of improvements, both general and local, in every branch of rural and domestic economy. But in improvements projected on a larger scale and for general accommodation, his views and efforts were more particularly keen and conspicuous. Here his zeal arose to a patriotic fervor and public spirit, that spirit which is now, alas! almost extinct, which presided over his plans, animated his steps, and gave to his most comprehensive and systematic views the warmth and energy of a single exertion. He was attentive to the most remote interests, while the vitals of our system felt his reforming influences; and, while with one hand he healed the disorders of the treasury, with the other he opened the field, and conducted the progress of internal commerce.

"In contemplating the character of this veteran and worthy, the mind is forcibly struck with that happy union of intuitive powers combined with the most sedate and correct judgment. To a careless observer, indeed, viewing him in opposite lights, a fervid imagination, at one time, seems to preside over his character. At another, common sense appears to hold sway. In the texture of this character, however, as in that of the changeable silk, the colors which cast so various a shade were intimately blended. The general was a practical man in his whole life; and, though he pursued the execution of well-digested plans with the enthusiasm of a projector, he never suffered soaring fancy to disturb the balance of sober reason. A similar remark may be applied to his private life. His temper was ardent; but his general estimate of merit was just and liberal; and, if ever urged too far by the heat of the moment, his kindness was sure to return, and, with it, generosity resumed its habitual sway. To fraud and imposture of every species, public or private, he never relaxed his frown; and even impertinence, absurdity and folly sometimes moved his impatience. Thus, in the movement of his passions, was exhibited the standard of his principles and taste. In his opinions, attached to one energetic administration, a friend to strict political discipline as the best preservative of liberty, too proudly honest to be indiscriminately popular, and holding in utter abhorrence the intrigues of democracy and the spirit of mob government, he found many among the interested, the envious, the ambitious and factious, who ventured to question his patriotism; but a long life, devoted to the welfare of the people, and public services without number, refuted the charge and repelled the aspersion."

APPENDIX.

The CONSTITUTION *of the State of* New-York, *Eſtabliſhed by the* CONVENTION, *authoriſed and empowered for that Purpoſe April* 20, 1777.

1. THIS convention, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this ſtate, doth ordain, determine, and declare, that no authority ſhall, on any pretence whatever, be exerciſed over the people or members of this ſtate, but ſuch as ſhall be derived from and granted by them.

2. This convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this ſtate, ordain, determine and declare, that the ſupreme legiſlative power, within this ſtate, ſhall be veſted in two ſeparate and diſtinct bodies of men; the one to be called, *The Aſſembly of the State of New-York;* the other to be called, *The Senate of the State of New-York;* who together ſhall form the legiſlature, and meet once at leaſt in every year for the diſpatch of buſineſs.

3. And whereas, laws inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of this conſtitution, or with the public good, may be haſtily and unadviſedly paſſed; be it ordained that the governor for the time being, the chancellor, and the judges of the ſupreme court, or any two of them, together with the governor, ſhall be and hereby are, conſtituted a council to reviſe all bills about to be paſſed into laws by the legiſlature, and for that purpoſe ſhall aſſemble themſelves from time to time, when the legiſlature ſhall be convened; for which nevertheless, they ſhall not receive any ſalary or conſideration, under any pretence whatever. And that all bills, which

which have paſſed the ſenate and aſſembly, shall, before they become laws, be preſented to the ſaid council for their reviſal and conſideration; and if upon such reviſion and conſideration, it ſhould appear improper to the ſaid council, or a majority of them, that the ſaid bill ſhould become a law of this ſtate, that they return the same, together with their objections thereto in writing, to the ſenate or houſe of aſſembly, in whichſoever the ſame ſhall have originated, who ſhall enter the objections ſent down by the council, at large, in their minutes, and proceed to reconſider the ſaid bill. But if after ſuch reconſideration, two thirds of the ſaid ſenate or houſe of aſſembly ſhall, notwithſtanding the ſaid objections, agree to paſs the ſame, it ſhall, together with the objections, be ſent to the other branch of the legiſlature, where it ſhall alſo be re-conſidered, and if approved by two thirds of the members preſent ſhall be a law.

And in order to prevent any unneceſſary delays, be it further ordained, that if any bill ſhall not be returned by the council within ten days after it ſhall have been preſented, the ſame ſhall be a law, unleſs the legiſlature ſhall, by their adjournment, render a return of the ſaid bill within ten days impracticable; in which caſe the bill ſhall be returned on the firſt day of the meeting of the legiſlature, after the expiration of the ſaid ten days.

4. That the aſſembly ſhall conſiſt of at leaſt seventy members, to be annually choſen in the ſeveral counties in the proportions following, viz.

For the city and county of New-York, *nine.*
The city and county of Albany, *ten.*
The county of Dutcheſs, *ſeven.*
The county of Weſtcheſter, *ſix.*
The county of Ulſter, *ſix.*
The county of Suffolk, *five.*
The county of Queens, *four.*
The county of Orange, *four.*
The county of Kings, *two.*
The county of Richmond, *two.*
The county of Tryon, *ſix.*

The county

The county of Charlotte, *four.*
The county of Cumberland, *three.*
The county of Glouceſter, *two.*

5. That as ſoon after the expiration of ſeven years, ſubſequent to the termination of the preſent war as may be, a cenſus of the electors and inhabitants in this ſtate be taken, under the direction of the legiſlature. And if on ſuch cenſus it ſhall appear, that the number of repreſentatives in aſſembly from the ſaid counties, is not juſtly proportioned to the number of electors in the ſaid counties reſpectively, that the legiſlature do adjuſt and apportion the ſame by that rule. And further, that once in every ſeven years, after the taking of the ſaid firſt cenſus, a just account of the electors reſident in each county ſhall be taken: and if it shall thereupon appear, that the number of electors in any county ſhall have increaſed or diminiſhed one or more ſeventieth parts of the whole number of electors, which on the ſaid firſt census ſhall be found in this ſtate, the number of repreſentatives for ſuch county ſhall be increaſed or diminiſhed accordingly, that is to ſay, one repreſentative for every ſeventieth part as aforeſaid.

6. And whereas, an opinion hath long prevailed among divers of the good people of this ſtate, that voting at elections by ballot, would tend more to preſerve the liberty and equal freedom of the people than voting *viva voce.* To the end therefore, that a fair experiment be made, which of thoſe two methods of voting is to be preferred:

Be it ordained, that, as ſoon as may be, after the termination of the preſent war, between the United States of America and Great-Britain, an act, or acts be paſſed by the legiſlature of this ſtate, for causing all elections thereafter to be held in this ſtate, for ſenators and repreſentatives in aſſembly, to be by ballot, and directing the manner in which the ſame ſhall be conducted. And whereas, it is poſſible, that after all the care of the legiſlature, in framing the ſaid act or acts, certain inconveniences and miſchiefs, unforeſeen at this day, may be found to attend the ſaid mode of electing by ballot:

It is further ordained, that if after a full and fair experiment ſhall be made of voting by ballot aforeſaid, the ſame ſhall be

be found leſs conducive to the ſafety or intereſt of the ſtate, than the method of voting *viva voce*, it ſhall be lawful and conſtitutional for the legiſlature to aboliſh the ſame; provided two thirds of the members preſent in each houſe, reſpectively ſhall concur therein: And further, that, during the continuance of the preſent war, and until the legiſlature of this ſtate ſhall provide for the election of ſenators and repreſentatives in aſſembly by ballot, the ſaid elections ſhall be made *viva voce.*

7. That every male inhabitant of full age, who ſhall have perſonally reſided within one of the counties of this ſtate, for ſix months immediately preceding the day of election, ſhall, at ſuch election, be intitled to vote for repreſentatives of the ſaid county in aſſembly; if, during the time aforeſaid he ſhall have been a freeholder, poſſeſſing a freehold of the value of twenty pounds, within the ſaid county, or have rented a tenement therein of the yearly value of forty ſhillings, and been rated and actually paid taxes to this ſtate: Provided always, that every perſon who now is a freeman of the city of Albany, or who was made a freeman of the city of New-York, on or before the fourteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, and ſhall be actually and uſually reſident in the ſaid cities reſpectively, ſhall be intitled to vote for repreſentatives in aſſembly within his ſaid place of reſidence.

8. That every elector, before he is admitted to vote, ſhall, if required by returning officer or either of the inſpectors, take an oath, or if of the people called Quakers, an affirmation, of allegiance to the ſtate.

9. That the aſſembly thus conſtituted ſhall chooſe their own ſpeaker, be judges of their own members, and enjoy the ſame privileges and proceed in doing buſineſs, in like manner as the aſſemblies of the colony of New-York of *right* formerly did; and that a majority of the ſaid members ſhall, from time to time, conſtitute a houſe to proceed upon buſineſs.

10. And this convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this ſtate, ordain, determine

termine and declare, that the ſenate of the ſtate of New-York ſhall conſiſt of twenty-four freeholders, to be choſen out of the body of the freeholders, and that they be choſen by the freeholders of this ſtate, poſſeſſed of freeholds of the value of one hundred pounds, over and above all debts charged thereon.

11. That the members of the ſenate be elected for four years, and immediately after the firſt election, they be divided by lot into four claſſes, ſix in each claſs, and numbered one, two, three, and four; that the ſeats of the members of the firſt claſs ſhall be vacated at the expiration of the firſt year, the ſecond claſs the ſecond year, and ſo on continually; to the end that the fourth part of the ſenate, as nearly as poſſible, may be annually choſen.

12. That the election of ſenators ſhall be after this manner; that ſo much of this ſtate as is now parcelled into counties, be divided into four great diſtricts; the ſouthern diſtrict to comprehend the city and county of New-York, Suffolk, Weſtcheſter, Kings, Queens, and Richmond counties, the middle diſtrict to comprehend the counties of Dutcheſs, Ulſter and Orange; the weſtern diſtrict, the city and county of Albany, and Tryon county; and the eaſtern diſtrict, the counties of Charlotte, Cumberland, and Glouceſter. That the ſenators ſhall be elected by the freeholders of the ſaid diſtricts, qualified as aforeſaid, in the proportions following, *to wit:* in the ſouthern diſtrict nine, in the middle diſtrict ſix, in the weſtern diſtrict ſix, and in the eaſtern diſtrict three. And be it ordained, that a cenſus ſhall be taken as ſoon as may be, after the expiration of ſeven years from the termination of the preſent war, under the direction of the legiſlature: And if in ſuch cenſus it ſhall appear, that the number of ſenators is not juſtly proportioned to the ſeveral diſtricts, that the legiſlature adjuſt the proportion as near as may be, to the number of freeholders qualified as aforeſaid, in each diſtrict. That when the number of electors, within any of the ſaid diſtricts, ſhall have increaſed one twenty-fourth part of the whole number of electors, which, by the ſaid cenſus, ſhall be found to be in this ſtate, an additional ſenator ſhall be choſen

by the electors of ſuch diſtrict. That a majority of the number of ſenators to be choſen as aforeſaid, ſhall be neceſſary to conſtitute a ſenate ſufficient to proceed upon buſineſs, and that the ſenate ſhall, in like manner with the aſſembly, be the judges of its own members. And be it ordained, that it ſhall be in the power of the future legiſlatures of this ſtate, for the convenience and advantage of the good people thereof, to divide the ſame into ſuch further and other counties and diſtricts, as ſhall to them appear neceſſary.

13. And this convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this ſtate, ordain, determine and declare, that no member of this ſtate ſhall be disfranchiſed, or deprived of any of the rights or privileges ſecured to the ſubjects of this ſtate, by this conſtitution, unleſs by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

14. That neither the aſſembly nor the ſenate ſhall have power to adjourn themſelves for any longer time than two days, without the mutual conſent of both.

15. That whenever the aſſembly and ſenate diſagree, a conference ſhall be held in the preſence of both, and be managed by committees to be by them reſpectfully choſen by ballot. That the doors both of the ſenate and aſſembly, ſhall at all times be kept open to all perſons, except when the welfare of the ſtate ſhall require their debates to be kept ſecret. And the journals of all their proceedings ſhall be kept in the manner heretofore accuſtomed by the general aſſembly of the colony of New-York, and except ſuch parts as they ſhall, as aforeſaid, reſpectively determine not to make public, be from day to day (if the buſineſs of the legiſlature will permit) publiſhed.

16. It is nevertheleſs provided, that the number of ſenators ſhall never exceed one hundred, nor the number of aſſembly three hundred; but that whenever the number of ſenators ſhall amount to one hundred, or of the aſſembly to three hundred, then and in ſuch caſe, the legiſlature ſhall from time to time thereafter, by laws for that purpoſe, apportion and diſtribute the ſaid one hundred ſenators, and three hundred repreſentatives, among the great diſtricts and counties

of

of this ſtate, in proportion to the number of their reſpective electors; ſo that the repreſentation of the good people of this ſtate, both in the ſenate and aſſembly, ſhall for ever remain proportionate and adequate.

17. And this convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this ſtate, ordain determine, and declare, that the ſupreme executive power and authority of this ſtate ſhall be veſted in a governor; and that ſtatedly once in every three years, and as often as the ſeat of government ſhall become vacant, a wiſe and diſcreet freeholder of this ſtate shall be by ballot elected governor, by the freeholders of this ſtate, qualified as before deſcribed to elect ſenators; which elections ſhall be always held at the times and places of chooſing repreſentatives in aſſembly for each respective county; and that the perſon who hath the greateſt number of votes within the ſaid ſtate, ſhall be governor thereof.

18. That the governor ſhall continue in office three years, and ſhall, by virtue of his office, be general and commander in chief of all the militia, and admiral of the navy of this ſtate; that he ſhall have power to convene the aſſembly and ſenate on extraordinary occaſions, to prorogue them from time to time, provided ſuch prorogations ſhall not exceed ſixty days in the ſpace of any one year; and at his diſcretion to grant reprieves and pardons to perſons convicted of crimes, other than treaſon or murder, in which he may ſuſpend the execution of the ſentence, until it ſhall be reported to the legiſlature at their ſubſequent meeting; and they ſhall either pardon, or direct the execution of the criminal, or grant a farther reprieve.

19. That it ſhall be the duty of the governor to inform the legiſlature, at every ſeſſions, of the condition of the ſtate, ſo far as may reſpect his department; to recommend ſuch matters to their conſideration as ſhall appear to him to concern its good government, welfare and proſperity; to correſpond with the continental congreſs, and other ſtates; to tranſact all neceſſary buſineſs with the officers of government, civil and military; to take care that the laws are faithfully executed to the

beſt

beſt of his ability; and to expedite all ſuch meaſures as may be reſolved upon by the legiſlature.

20. That a lieutenant-governor ſhall, at every election of a governor, and as often as the lieutenant-governor ſhall die, reſign, or be removed from office, be elected in the ſame manner with the governor, to continue in office until the next election of a governor; and ſuch lieutenant-governor ſhall, by virtue of his office, be preſident of the ſenate, and upon an equal diviſion, have a caſting voice in their deciſions, but not vote on any other occaſion.

And in caſe of the impeachment of the governor, or his removal from office, death, reſignation, or abſence from the ſtate, the lieutenant-governor ſhall exerciſe all the power and authority appertaining to the office of governor, until another be choſen, or the governor abſent or impeached, ſhall return or be acquitted. Provided, that where the governor ſhall, with the conſent of the legiſlature, be out of the ſtate, in time of war, at the head of a military force thereof, he ſhall ſtill continue in his command of all the military force of the ſtate, both by ſea and land.

21. That whenever the government ſhall be adminiſtered by the lieutenant-governor, or he ſhall be unable to attend as preſident of the ſenate, the ſenators ſhall have power to elect one of their own members to the office of preſident of the ſenate, which he ſhall exerciſe *pro hac vice*. And if, during ſuch vacancy of the office of governor, the lieutenant-governor ſhall be impeached, diſplaced, reſign, die, or be abſent from the ſtate, the preſident of the ſenate ſhall in like manner as the lieutenant-governor, adminiſter the government, until others ſhall be elected by the ſuffrage of the people, at the ſucceeding election.

22. And this convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this ſtate, ordain, determine and declare, that the treaſurer of this ſtate ſhall be appointed by act of the legiſlature, to originate with the aſſembly: Provided that he ſhall not be elected out of either branch of the legiſlature.

23. That all officers, other than thoſe, who by this conſtitution

ſtitution are directed to be otherwiſe appointed, ſhall be appointed in the manner following, to wit, The aſſembly ſhall once in every year, openly nominate and appoint one of the ſenators from each great diſtrict, which ſenators ſhall form a council for the appointment of the ſaid officers, of which the governor for the time being, or the lieutenant-governor, or the preſident of the ſenate, when they ſhall reſpectively adminiſter the government, ſhall be preſident, and have a caſting voice, *but no other vote*, and with the advice and conſent of the ſaid council, ſhall appoint all the ſaid officers; and that a majority of the ſaid council be a quorum. And further, the ſaid ſenators ſhall not be eligible to the ſaid council for two years ſucceſſively.

24. That all military officers be appointed during pleaſure; that all commiſſioned officers civil and military, be commiſſioned by the governor; and that the chancellor, the judges of the ſupreme court, and firſt judge of the county court in every county, hold their offices during good behaviour, or until they ſhall have reſpectively attained the age of ſixty years.

25. That the chancellor and judges of the ſupreme court, ſhall not at the ſame time hold any other office, excepting that of delegate to the general congreſs, upon ſpecial occaſions; and that the firſt judges of the county courts in the ſeveral counties, ſhall not at the ſame time hold any other office, excepting that of ſenator, or delegate to the general congreſs: But if the chancellor or either of the ſaid judges be elected or appointed to any other office, excepting as is before excepted, it ſhall be at his option in which to ſerve.

26. That ſheriffs and coroners be annually appointed; and that no perſon ſhall be capable of holding either of the ſaid offices more than four years ſucceſſively, nor the ſheriff of holding any other office at the ſame time.

27. And be it further ordained, that the regiſter and clerks in chancery be appointed by the chancellor; the clerks of the ſupreme court by the judges of the ſaid court; the clerk of the court of probates by the judge of the ſaid court; and the regiſter and marſhal of the court of admiralty by the judge of the admiralty. The ſaid marſhal, regiſters and clerks

clerks to continue in office during the pleaſure of thoſe by whom they are to be appointed as aforeſaid.

And that all attorneys, ſolicitors and counſellors at law, hereafter to be appointed, be appointed by the court, and licenſed by the firſt judge of the court in which they ſhall reſpectfully plead or practiſe; and be regulated by the rules and orders of the ſaid courts.

28. And be it further ordained, that where by this convention the duration of any office ſhall not be aſcertained, ſuch office ſhall be conſtrued to be held during the pleaſure of the council of appointment: Provided that new commiſſions ſhall be iſſued to judges of the county courts (other than to the firſt judge) and to juſtices of the peace, once at the leaſt in every three years.

29. That town clerks, ſuperviſors, aſſeſſors, conſtables, and collectors, and all other officers heretofore eligible by the people, ſhall always continue to be ſo eligible, in the manner directed by the preſent or future acts of legiſlature.

That loan officers, county treaſurers, and clerks of the ſuperviſors, continue to be appointed in the manner directed by the preſent or future acts of the legiſlature.

30. That delegates to repreſent this ſtate in the general congreſs of the United States of America, be annually appointed as follows, *to wit:* The ſenate and aſſembly ſhall each openly nominate as many perſons as ſhall be equal to the whole number of delegates to be appointed; after which nomination they ſhall meet together, and thoſe perſons named in both liſts shall be delegates; and out of thoſe perſons whoſe names are not in both liſts, one half ſhall be choſen by the joint ballot of the ſenators and members of aſſembly, ſo met together as aforeſaid.

31. That the ſtile of all laws ſhall be as follows, *to wit*, "Be it enacted by the people of the ſtate of New-York, repreſented in ſenate and aſſembly." And that all writs and other proceedings ſhall run in the name of *the people of the ſtate of New-York*, and be teſted in the name of the chancellor or chief judge of the court from whence they ſhall iſſue.

32. And this convention doth further, in the name and by

by the authority of the good people of this ſtate, ordain, determine, and declare, that a court ſhall be inſtituted, for the trial of impeachments, and the correction of errors, under the regulations which ſhall be eſtabliſhed by the legiſlature; and to conſiſt of the preſident of the ſenate, for the time being and the ſenators, chancellor, and judges of the ſupreme court, or the major part of them; except, that when an impeachment ſhall be proſecuted againſt the chancellor, or either of the judges of the ſupreme court, the perſon so impeached ſhall be ſuſpended from exerciſing his office until his acquittal: And in like manner, when an appeal from a decree in equity ſhall be heard, the chancellor ſhall inform the court of the reaſons of his decree, but ſhall not have a voice in the final ſentence. And if the cauſe to be determined ſhall be brought up by writ of error on a queſtion of law, on a judgment in the ſupreme court, the judges of that court ſhall aſſign the reaſons of ſuch their judgment, but ſhall not have a voice for its affirmance or reverſal.

33. That the power of impeaching all officers of the ſtate, for mal and corrupt conduct in their reſpective offices, be veſted in the repreſentatives of the people in aſſembly; but that it ſhall always be neceſſary that two third parts of the members preſent ſhall conſent to and agree in ſuch impeachment. That previous to the trial of every impeachment, the members of the ſaid court ſhall reſpectively be ſworn, truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in queſtion, according to evidence; and that no judgment of the ſaid court ſhall be valid, unleſs it be aſſented to by two third parts of the members then preſent; nor ſhall it extend farther than to removal from office, and diſqualification to hold and enjoy any place of honor, truſt or profit, under this ſtate. But the party ſo convicted, ſhall be, nevertheleſs, liable and ſubject to indictment, trial, judgment and puniſhment, according to the laws of the land.

34. And it is further ordained, that in every trial on impeachment or indictment for crimes or miſdemeanors, the party impeached or indicted ſhall be allowed counſel, as in civil actions.

35. And this

35. And this convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this ſtate, ordain, determine, and declare, that ſuch parts of the common law of England, and of the ſtatute law of England and Great-Britain, and of the acts of the legiſlature of the colony of New-York, as together did form the law of the ſaid colony on the 19th day of April, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, ſhall be and continue the law of this ſtate; ſubject to ſuch alterations and proviſions, as the legiſlature of this ſtate ſhall, from time to time make concerning the ſame. That ſuch of the ſaid acts as are temporary, ſhall expire at the times limited for their duration reſpectively. That all ſuch parts of the ſaid common law, and all ſuch of the ſaid ſtatutes, and acts aforeſaid, or parts thereof, as may be conſtrued to eſtabliſh or maintain any particular denomination of chriſtians or their miniſters, or concern the allegiance heretofore yielded to, and the ſupremacy, ſovereignty, government, or prerogatives, claimed or exercised by the king of Great-Britain and his predeceſſors, over the colony of New-York and its inhabitants, or are repugnant to this conſtitution, be, and they hereby are, abrogated and rejected. And this convention doth further ordain, that the reſolves or reſolutions of the congreſſes of the colony of New-York, and of the convention of the ſtate of New-York, now in force, and not repugnant to the government eſtabliſhed by this conſtitution, ſhall be conſidered as making part of the laws of this ſtate; ſubject, nevertheleſs, to ſuch alterations and proviſions, as the legiſlature of this ſtate may, from time to time, make concerning the ſame.

36. And be it further ordained, that all grants of land within this ſtate, made by the king of Great-Britain, or perſons acting under his authority, after the fourteenth day of October, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, ſhall be null and void: But that nothing in this conſtitution contained, ſhall be conſtrued to affect any grants of land, within this ſtate, by the authority of the ſaid king or his predeceſſors, or to annul any charters to bodies politic, by him or them or any of them, made prior to that day. And that none of the ſaid

charters

charters ſhall be adjudged to be void, by reaſon of any non-uſer or miſ-uſer of any of their reſpective rights or privileges, between the nineteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, and the publication of this conſtitution. And further, that all ſuch of the officers deſcribed in the ſaid charters reſpectively, as by the terms of the ſaid charters, were to be appointed by the governor of the colony of New-York, with or without the advice and conſent of the council of the ſaid king, in the ſaid colony, ſhall henceforth be appointed by the council eſtabliſhed by this conſtitution, for the appointment of officers in this ſtate, until otherwiſe directed by the legiſlature.

37. And whereas it is of great importance to the ſafety of this ſtate, that peace and amity with the indians within the ſame, be at all times ſupported and maintained. And whereas, the frauds too often practiſed towards the ſaid indians, in contracts made for their lands, have in divers inſtances been productive of dangerous diſcontents and animoſities; Be it ordained, that no purchaſes or contracts for the ſale of lands made ſince the fourteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, or which may hereafter be made with or of the ſaid indians, within the limits of this ſtate, ſhall be binding on the ſaid indians, or deemed valid, unleſs made under the authority, and with the conſent of the legiſlature of this ſtate.

38. And whereas we are required by the benevolent principles of rational liberty, not only to expel civil tyranny, but alſo to guard againſt that ſpiritual oppreſſion and intolerance, wherewith the bigotry and ambition of weak and wicked prieſts and princes, have ſcourged mankind: This convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this ſtate, ordain, determine and declare, that the free exerciſe and enjoyment of religious profeſſion and worſhip, without diſcrimination or preference, ſhall forever hereafter be allowed within this ſtate, to all mankind. Provided that the liberty of conſcience hereby granted, ſhall not be ſo conſtrued, as to excuſe acts of licentiouſneſs, or juſtify practices inconſiſtent with the peace or ſafety of this ſtate.

39. And whereas

39. And whereas the miniſters of the goſpel, are by their profeſſion dedicated to the ſervice of God and the cure of ſouls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their function; therefore no miniſter of the goſpel, or prieſt of any denomination whatſoever, ſhall at any time hereafter, under any pretence or deſcription whatever, be eligible to, or capable of holding any civil or military office or place, within this ſtate.

40. And whereas it is of the utmoſt importance to the ſafety of every ſtate, that it ſhould always be in a condition of defence; and it is the duty of every man, who enjoys the protection of ſociety, to be prepared and willing to defend it; this convention, therefore, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this ſtate, doth ordain, determine and declare, that the militia of this ſtate, at all times hereafter, as well in peace as in war, ſhall be armed and diſciplined, and in readineſs for ſervice. That all ſuch of the inhabitants of this ſtate, being of the people called Quakers, from ſcruples of conſcience, may be averſe to the bearing of arms, be therefrom excuſed by the legiſlature; and do pay to the ſtate, ſuch ſums of money in lieu of their perſonal ſervice, as the ſame may, in the judgment of the legiſlature, be worth: And that a proper magazine of warlike ſtores, proportionate to the number of inhabitants, be, forever hereafter, at the expence of this ſtate, and by acts of the legiſlature, eſtabliſhed, maintained, and continued in every county in this ſtate.

41. And this convention doth further ordain, determine and declare, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this ſtate, that trial by jury, in all caſes in which it hath heretofore been uſed in the colony of New-York, shall be eſtabliſhed, and remain inviolate forever. And that no acts of attainder ſhall be paſſed by the legiſlature of this ſtate for crimes, other than thoſe committed before the termination of the preſent war; and that ſuch acts ſhall not work a corruption of blood. And further, that the legiſlature of this ſtate ſhall at no time hereafter, inſtitute any new court or courts, but ſuch as ſhall proceed according to the courſe of the common law

42. And this

42. And this convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this ſtate, ordain, determine and declare that it ſhall be in the diſcretion of the legiſlature to naturalize all ſuch perſons, and in ſuch manner as they shall think proper; provided all ſuch of the perſons, ſo to be by them naturalized, as being born in parts beyond ſea, and out of the United States of America, ſhall come to ſettle in, and become ſubjects of this ſtate, ſhall take an oath of allegiance to this ſtate, and abjure and renounce all allegiance and ſubjection to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate and ſtate, in all matters eccleſiaſtical as well as civil.

By order,

LEONARD GANSEVOORT,

Preſ. pro tem.

[THE END.]

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